THE

ROMANS UNDER THE EMPIRE.

VOL. III.

LONDON
PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO.
NEW-STREET SQUARE

HISTORY

OF THE

ROMANS UNDER THE EMPIRE.

BY

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RECTOR OF LAWFORD:

CHAPLAIN TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

NEW EDITION.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

LONDON:

LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, ROBERTS, & GREEN.

1865.

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OF THE

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Cæsar's premature death.

CÆSAR was assassinated in his fifty-sixth year. He fell pierced with twenty-three wounds, only one of which, as the physician who examined his body affirmed, was in itself mortal.[1] In early life his health had been delicate, and at a later period he was subject to fits of epilepsy, which attacked him in the campaign of Africa, and again before the battle of Munda.[2] Yet the

[1] Suet. *Jul.* 86.

[2] Suet. *Jul.* 45.; Plut. *Cæs.* 17.; Dion, xliii. 32.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 101. Comp. Sir Henry Halford's *Essays*, p. 61.: "Many attacks of epilepsy are symptomatic only of some irritation in the alimentary canal, or of some eruptive disease about to declare itself, or of other occasional passing ills. So far Julius Cæsar was epileptic .... But

energy and habitual rapidity of all his movements seem to prove the robustness of his constitution, at least in middle life. It may be presumed that if he had escaped the dagger of the assassin, he might, in the course of nature, have attained old age; and against any open attack his position was impregnable. He might have lived to carry out himself the liberal schemes which he was enabled only to project. But it was ordained, for inscrutable reasons, that their first originator should perish, and leave them to be eventually effected by a successor, within a quarter of a century.

Judgment of the ancients on his assassination.

The judgment of the ancients upon this famous deed varied according to their interests and predilections. If, indeed, the republic had been permanently re-established, its saviour would have been hailed, perhaps, with unmingled applause, and commanded the favour of the Romans to a late posterity. Cicero, though he might have shrunk from participating in the deed, deemed it expedient to justify it, and saluted its authors in exulting accents, as tyrannicides and deliverers.[1] But the courtiers of the later Cæsars denounced it as a murder, or passed it over in significant silence. Virgil, who ventures to pay a noble compliment to Cato, and glories in the eternal punishment of Catilina, bestows not a word on the

these attacks were of no consequence in deteriorating his masculine mind." Napoleon, as is well known, had more than one attack of the same kind. Michelet's description is picturesque (*Hist. de France*, i. 50.): "J'aurais voulu voir cette blanche et pâle figure, fanée avant l'âge par les débauches de Rome, cet homme délicat épileptique, marchant sous les pluies de la Gaule, à la tête des légions, traversant nos fleuves à la nage, ou bien à cheval, entre les litières où ses secrétaires étoient portés." Suetonius adds that Cæsar was disturbed in his latter years by nocturnal terrors.

[1] Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 4. 6. 14.; *Philipp.* i. 14.; *de Off.* i. 31., ii. 7., iii. 4.: "Num se astrinxit scelere si qui tyrannum occidit quamvis familiarem? Populo quidem Romano non videtur, qui ex omnibus præclaris factis illud pulcherrimum existimat."

exploit of Brutus.[1] Even Lucan, who beholds in it a stately sacrifice to the gods, admits the detestation with which it was generally regarded.[2] Augustus, indeed, wisely tolerant, allowed Messala to speak in praise of Cassius; but Tiberius would not suffer Cremutius to call him with impunity the last of the Romans.[3] Velleius, Seneca, and, above all, Valerius Maximus, express their abhorrence of the murder in energetic and manly tones. It was the mortification, they said, of the conspirators at their victim's superiority, their disappointment at the slowness with which the stream of honours flowed to them, their envy, their vanity, anything rather than their patriotism, that impelled them to it.[4] The Greek writers, who had less of prejudice to urge them to palliate the deed, speak of it without reserve as a monstrous and hateful atrocity.[5] Again, while Tacitus casts a philosophic glance on the opinions of others, and abstains from passing any judgment of his own, Suetonius, in saying that Cæsar perished by a just retribution, imputes to him no legal crime, nor extenuates the guilt of his assassins.[6] From

[1] Virg. *Æn.* viii. 668.:

"Et te, Catilina, minaci
Pendentem scopulo Furiarumque ora trementem;
Secretosque pios; his dantem jura Catonem."

[2] Lucan, vii. 596.:

"Vivat, et ut Bruti procumbat victima, regnet."

Comp. vi. 791., and viii. 609.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 34.

[4] Vell. ii. 56.; Senec. *de Ira*, iii. 30.; Val. Max. i. 7. 2., iii. 1. 8., &c.

[5] Dion, xliv. 1. 20, 21., &c.; Appian, *B. C.* iv. 134.

[6] Suet. *Jul.* 76.: "Jure cæsus existimetur." As this writer's judgment has been cited in justification of the assassination, it may be well to examine it more closely. On referring to the context of this passage, it will be seen that Suetonius had no idea of vindicating the obsolete principle of a barbarous antiquity, that regal usurpation authorized murder (see Liv. ii. 8.),—a principle which the opponents of senatorial ascendency repudiated and resented; but only expressed his own personal indignation at the extravagant vanity of the usurper. Suetonius knew and cared but little for the

Livy and Florus, and the epitomizer of Trogus, we may infer that the sentiments expressed by Plutarch were the same which the most reasonable of the Romans generally adopted; the moralizing sage declared that the disorders of the body politic required the establishment of monarchy, and that Cæsar was sent by Providence, as the mildest physician, for its conservation.[1] On the whole, when we consider the vices of the times, and the general laxity of principle justly ascribed to the later ages of Greek and Roman heathenism, it is interesting to observe how little sympathy was extended by antiquity to an exploit which appealed so boldly to it.

Cæsar's person.

The accounts we have received of Cæsar's person describe him as pale in complexion, of a tall and spare figure, with dark piercing eyes and an aquiline nose, with scanty hair and without a beard. His appearance, at least in youth, was

legal traditions of the commonwealth; but he indulged in splenetic mortification at greatness and its outward distinctions. At the conclusion of his biography he repeats the common remark that all the assassins perished by violent deaths, evidently with the complacency of one who thought them *jure cæsi*, quite as much as their victim. I subjoin the whole passage.

"Prægravant tamen cætera facta dictaque ejus, ut et *abusus dominatione* et jure cæsus existimetur. Non enim honores modo nimios recepit, ut continuum consulatum, perpetuam dictaturam, præfecturamque morum, insuper prænomen imperatoris, *cognomen Patris Patriæ*, statuam inter reges, suggestum in orchestra; sed et *ampliora etiam humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est*: sedem auream in curiâ, et pro tribunali, tensam et ferculum Circensi pompa, templa, aras, simulacra juxta Deos, pulvinar, flaminem, Lupercos, appellationem mensis a suo nomine."

It was not the *dominatio* itself, but the *abusus dominationis*, that Suetonius deemed worthy of death; his truculent virtue was inflamed, not by the successive consulships, the perpetual dictatorship, &c., least of all by the surname of Father of his Country, which a Camillus and a Cicero had borne, but by the divine honours affected by Cæsar. The words *jure cæsus* may be borrowed from a legal formula, but the writer, I repeat, uses them with no reference to a legal, but to a moral retributive justice.

[1] Senec. *Qu. Nat.* v. 18: "A Tito Livio positum in incerto esse utrum eum magis nasci reipublicæ profuerit an non nasci." Flor. iv. 2. 92.; Eutrop. vi. fin.; Plut. *Cæs.* 69.

remarkably handsome, and of a delicate and almost feminine character. He continued, even in later years, to be vain of his person, and was wont to hint that he inherited his beauty from his divine ancestress. His baldness, which he strove to conceal by combing his locks over the crown of his head, was regarded by the ancients as a deformity, and a slight puffing of the under lip, which may be traced in some of his best busts, must undoubtedly have detracted from the admirable contour of his countenance. We can only infer indistinctly his appearance in early life from the busts and medals which remain of him; for all of these belong to the period of his greatness and more advanced age. In the traits which these monuments have preserved to us, there is also great diversity. Indeed, it may be said that there is a marked discrepancy between the expression of the busts and that of the medals. The former, which are assuredly the most life-like of the two, represent a long thin face, with a forehead rather high than capacious, furrowed with strong lines, giving to it an expression of patient endurance and even suffering, such as might be expected from frequent illness, and from a life of toil not unmingled with dissipation. It is from the more dubious evidence of the latter that we derive our common notions of the vivid animation and heroic majesty of Cæsar's lineaments.

His loose morality.

The temptations to which the spirited young noble was exposed from the graces of his person were not combated by any strictness of moral principle, perhaps not even by a sense of personal dignity. In periods of great social depravity, such as especially degraded the class to which Cæsar belonged, it is by the women even more than by the men that profligacy is provoked and encouraged. The early age at which he became notorious as the gallant of the matron Servilia may show that he

imbibed the rudiments of vice in the school of a proficient in intrigue. From that time he persisted without shame or scruple in the pursuit of pleasure in whatever shape it seemed to court him. His amours were celebrated in verse and prose, in the epigrams of Catullus and the satires of Cæcina and Pitholaus. His countrymen enumerated with horror the connections which shocked their national prejudices. When they repeated from mouth to mouth that Cæsar intrigued with the consorts of a Crassus, a Pompeius, a Gabinius, or a Sulpicius, they manifested neither sympathy for the injured husband nor indignation at the heartless seducer, still less disgust at the sensual indulgence. But the corruption of a Roman matron, of a wife by the sacred rite of the broken bread, was a public scandal, hateful both to gods and men; it might bring a judgment upon the nation itself; the culprit was denounced as a national offender. If such austere sentiments were not universally felt, it was at least easy to feign them; the domestic rival might be conveniently branded as a public delinquent, and the circulation of the stories against Cæsar's moral conduct, however ample the occasion he gave for them, was doubtless part of a system of organized warfare against him. The same remark applies also to the current tales of his intrigues with foreign princesses. These, two, were stigmatized, not as private indulgences, but as public crimes. The more constant the attachment he manifested to a stranger, the votary of strange divinities, the more flagrant the guilt imputed to him. Eunoe, queen of the Mauretanian Bogudes, was the object of only a passing desire; but Cleopatra, as we have seen, established a lasting sway over him. Though he despised these prejudices, the foundation of which he hardly fathomed, and defied the clamour they excited, he had reason to repent of his indulgences from the handle they gave for more infamous charges,

the only attacks which seem to have seriously annoyed him: but which, easily made and common as they were, require some proof, of which they possess not a shadow, before I can be expected to record them against him.[1]

His temperance and generosity.

The coarse habits of the age were peculiarly exemplified in the debauchery of the table. Excess in eating as well as in drinking was common, and passed almost unreproved. Custom had sanctioned the abuse, and the union of sage philosophical discussion with indulgence of the vilest gluttony must provoke a smile at the "follies of the wise." Cæsar took the manners of the day as he found them: but he was not addicted to licentious excess in these respects, and among the class of riotous young men who made themselves conspicuous in undermining the institutions of the country, he alone, in the words of Cato, came sober to the task of destruction.[2] Nor was there any petty cupidity in the eagerness with which he grasped the spoils of the conquered provinces. The pearls of Britain, the statues and gems of Asia, the hoarded gold of Gades and Antioch, the slaves of exquisite figure and curious accomplishments, which became the ransom of his victories, were, in his hands, the instruments of a lofty ambition, not objects of sordid avarice. He was more liberal in giving than rapacious in seizing. Mamurra, Balbus and many others, could attest his readiness to enrich his favourite servants, and in instituting Octavius his principal heir, he reduced

[1] Dion, xliii. 20. These charges seem, after all, to rest solely on the authority of C. Memmius, a scurrilous profligate (Suet. *Jul.* 49, 73), from whom they were taken by Catullus, Cicero, and others. For the character of Memmius comp. Ovid, *Trist.* ii. 433.; Plin. *Epist.* v. 3.; Gell. xix. 9.

[2] Suet. *Jul.* 53.: "Verbum M. Catonis est, unum ex omnibus Cæsarem ad evertendam republicam sobrium accessisse." He goes on to tell a pleasing story in illustration of his moderation. Comp. Vell. ii. 41.: "Magno illi Alexandro sed sobrio neque iracundo simillimus."

the inheritance by a legacy of 300 sesterces to every Roman citizen.[1]

His clemency.

The gentleness of Cæsar's manners in his intercourse with his associates presents an amiable feature in the character of a man so much their superior. Few public men ever made or retained so many personal friends, and in this respect he is favourably contrasted with the most eminent of his rivals, Crassus and Pompeius. The clemency which he exhibited towards his adversaries cannot, in fairness, be ascribed merely to policy. The Romans themselves never so disparaged it, and when they remembered how effectively his successor wielded the sword of proscription for the maintenance of his power, they might reasonably regret and applaud the mildness of their elder master. We may venture, indeed, to surmise that if Cæsar had attained his dangerous eminence in early youth, he would have been less scrupulous as to the means of protecting himself; but there seems reason for believing that, by the time he had climbed the summit of his ambition, the veteran of pleasure and adventure had begun to feel the hollowness of gratification, and to shrink from doing violence to his better nature. Cæsar, indeed, had too many objects of interest around him to become absorbed in any one. The sphere even of his literary engagements embraced almost every known subject of intellectual occupation.

His excellence in literature.

His skill and spirit in historical narration are sufficiently attested by the works which have descended to us under his name; and it must

[1] 300 sesterces = about 3*l.* The number of the urban citizens we have seen on a recent occasion amounted to 170,000, and was probably considerably larger at Cæsar's death. He also bequeathed to the people his gardens on the other side of the Tiber, in which Cleopatra had been lodged. Suet. *Jul.* 83.; Plutarch, *Brut.* 20.; Appian, ii. 143.; Dion, xliv. 35. According to the latter, however, Octavius affirmed that the legacy to the citizens was much smaller; viz. 30 drachmas to each, instead of 75.

be remembered that, at a time when mere dexterity in composition was a rare and difficult accomplishment, the publication of only a few books in terse and vigorous language implied of necessity an extended acquaintance with the masters of literature. Cæsar's historical style claims to be favourably contrasted with the roughness of Cato and Varro, and even with the artificial rhetoric of Cicero and Sallust, if it may not be compared with the chastened elegance of Livy, or the sententious gravity of Tacitus. But in its freedom, ease, and openness it presents an unbroken reflection of the mind from which it emanated, confident in its simplicity and superior to artifice. In the wordy contests of the bar and the forum, it was declared by his countrymen that Cæsar might have rivalled the great orator himself, if he had not preferred to throw himself into action. He composed, moreover, a treatise on grammar, and also the celebrated satire on Cato, an essay which seems to have made a great impression on the judgment of his contemporaries. Though destitute, perhaps, himself of the lively humour which charms society[1], he was a shrewd observer and a profound thinker, and he made a collection of wise and witty sayings, storing, like Lord Bacon, for the basis of a new structure of philosophy the condensed experience of past ages. In early youth he had written tragedies after the Greek model: during his rapid march from Italy into Spain before his last campaign, he amused himself with composing verses, perhaps in a lighter and more original vein, under the title of his *Journey*. As chief pontiff he compiled an official work on the subject of augury; and that he took some actual part in the reformation of the calendar effected by his

[1] In this sense the observation attributed to Niebuhr (*Lectures on Roman History*, ii. 45.), that not one witty saying of Cæsar is recorded, is quite true. But his serious retorts were often smart as well as severe.

learned associates may be surmised from the special work he devoted to the science of astronomy.

Universality of his genius.

But while other illustrious men have been reputed great for their excellence in some one department of human genius, it was declared by the concurrent voice of antiquity that Cæsar was excellent in all. He had genius, understanding, memory, taste, reflection, industry and exactness.[1] *He was great*, repeats a modern writer, *in every thing he undertook; as a captain, a statesman, a lawgiver, a jurist, an orator, a poet, an historian, a grammarian, a mathematician, and an architect.*[2] The secret of this manifold excellence was discovered by Pliny in the unparalleled energy of his intellectual powers, which he could devote without distraction to several subjects at once, or rush at any moment from one occupation to another with the abruptness and rapidity of lightning.[3] Cæsar could be writing and reading, dictating and listening all at the same time; he was wont to occupy four amanuenses at once, and had been known on occasions to employ as many as seven together.[4] And as if to complete the picture of the most perfect specimen of human ability, we are assured that in all the exercises of the camp his vigour and skill were not less conspicuous. He fought at the most perilous moments in the ranks of the soldiers; he could manage his charger without the use of reins,[5] and he saved his life at Alexandria by his address in the art of swimming.[6]

Cæsar represents his age in his qualities and defects.

But the province of the historian must be kept distinct from that of the biographer. For the former the survey of Cæsar's character derives its chief interest from the manner

[1] Cic. *Philipp.* ii. 44. [2] Drumann, iii. 746.

[3] Comp. Cicero's remarkable expression (*ad Att.* viii. 9. 4.): "Sed hoc τέρας horribili vigilantia, celeritate, diligentia est."

[4] Plin. *H. N.* vii. 25. [5] Plut. *Cæs.* 17.; Suet. *Jul.* 57.

[6] Suet. *l. c.*: "Si flumina morarentur nando trajiciens, vel innixus inflatis utribus."

in which it illustrates the times wherein he occupied so prominent a place. The disposition and conduct of the great man we have been contemplating correspond faithfully with the intellectual and moral development of the age of which he was the most perfect representative. He combined literature with action, humanity with sternness, free-thinking with superstition, energy with voluptuousness, a noble and liberal ambition with a fearful want of moral principle. In these striking inconsistencies, which none but himself could blend in one harmonious temperament, he represented the manifold conflicting tendencies which appeared in various proportions in the character of the Roman nobility, at a period when they had thrown off the formal restraints of their Etruscan discipline, and the specious indulgence of Hellenic cultivation lured them into vice, selfishness, and impiety.

The ruling idea of the Etruscan institutions.

The ruling idea of the Etruscan institutions was their immediate derivation from a divine authority. The Lucumo or military chieftain was at the same time the priest and augur of the national religion. Under the marvellous fiction of the apparition of the dwarf Tages, who was declared to have sprung from the soil to teach the worship claimed by the gods, he represented the archives of his creed as inspired and infallible. All the political and social institutions of his country he invested with the same divine sanction; places, not of worship only, but of ordinary abode, the walls of cities no less than the precincts of temples, domestic customs and public ceremonies, family relations and official personages, births, marriages and funerals, games, spectacles and sacrifices, all were inaugurated and sanctified by holy and mysterious formulas. The minute details into which a ceremonial law so comprehensive necessarily ran demanded for their requirement the devotion of a particular profession, and

even of an hereditary caste. The Etruscans divided mankind into two classes, the teachers and the believers; and the former of these was easily led to pretend to a peculiar sanctity, and perhaps to believe in it. The claims, however, which they advanced upon the submission of the human intellect required the production of some apparent proofs. The Etruscan augurs asserted that they possessed the art of foretelling events by divination. According to them the secrets of the gods were not imparted directly by means of inspired oracles, but were to be learned by man through a holy discipline of observation and experience. They inquired, under the direction of technical rules, into the hidden properties of nature, particularly those of the electric phenomena[1], and whatever progress they made in real knowledge they had the art of turning their discoveries to the credit of their institutions.

The Romans adopt the Etruscan discipline under certain limitations.

It was from these teachers that the ancient Romans derived the ritual part of their religion. But, though they embraced with superstitious awe the manifold ceremonies of the Etruscan cult, they never allowed themselves to be so completely enchained by their dogmatic formalisms as the people from whom they derived them. Their race from the first was too mixed in its character to be exclusively enthralled by the ideas of any one of its component elements. The Roman priests and diviners never succeeded in separating themselves as a distinct caste from the rest of the people. Though in the primitive ages the patrician claimed exclusive possession of all the religious

[1] Cic. *de Divin.* i. 41, 42.; Diodor. Sic. v. 40.; Senec. *Nat. Qu.* ii. 32.: "Hoc autem inter nos et Tuscos, quibus summa persequendorum fulminum est scientia, interest. Nos putamus, quod nubes collisæ sunt, ideo fulmina emitti; ipsi existimant, nubes collidi, ut fulmina emittantur." He proceeds to expound and controvert the teaching of the Etruscans on this subject. Compare Micali, *L'Italie, &c. trad. de Raoul-Rochette*, ii. 246. foll.

secrets of the nation, the progress of political enfranchisement introduced the plebeians to a share in this as in all other privileges. Though the science of augury continued for centuries to be assiduously cultivated, and its infallibility strenuously maintained, bold spirits were never wanting to defy its conclusions whenever they were strongly opposed to any obvious expediency. Still the Roman people continued to boast, on the whole with justice, of the soundness and devotedness of their faith. To this they rejoiced to attribute the success of their arms and policy. The unbelieving Greeks admired it with a sigh.[1] The superior civilization of the Etruscans exercised a dominant influence over Rome, not in religious matters only, but in manners, arts and literature. It was from Etruria that she imported her music, and her stage-players, who were properly singers.[2] The genius of the Etruscans, though it appears never to have turned towards poetry, excelled in works of scientific information, as well as in the cultivation of the arts.[3] So late as the fifth century it was still the fashion for the youth of Rome to be regularly trained in the literature of Etruria, as at a later period in that of Greece.[4]

The effect of the theocratic discipline to which the Romans so far subjected their imaginations, impressed a marked colour upon their national character for several centuries. The history of no nation presents such a picture of blind devotion to the public interest; such entire submission of the citizen to the claims of the community, such heroic abnegation of

[1] Polyb. vi. 56.; Dionys. *Ant. Rom.* ii. 18, 19.

[2] See Niebuhr, *H. R.* i. 133. E. T.

[3] Niebuhr refers to Varro, *L. L.* iv. 9.: "Volusius qui tragœdias Tuscas scripsit;" these were probably translations or adaptations from the Greek drama for performance in the Greek theatres at Fæsulæ and elsewhere, in the latest period of Etruscan cultivation.

[4] Liv. ix. 36.: "Habeo auctores vulgo tam Romanos pueros sicut nunc Græcis, ita Etruscis literis erudiri solitos."

all selfish views. Brutus and Manlius offered up their sons on the altar of the commonwealth. Curtius and Decius made the more generous sacrifice of their own lives. Regulus kept his word with Carthage, to maintain the honour of his country, rather than his own. Fabricius rejected the bribes of Pyrrhus. Cincinnatus relinquished, at the call of patriotism, the simple leisure earned by a life of public service. These stories, whatever be their actual truth, serve at least to paint the heroic ideal of the nation. The legend of the contest with Brennus, and the final triumph of patient resolve in the extremity of disaster, was enacted in real life throughout the mortal agony of the second Punic war. The manners of the old Roman heroes corresponded to their military virtues. Simple, frugal, and honest in their private conduct, they were just and generous, according to their own principles, in their dealings with enemies. Such at least was the boast of their own countrymen, and such qualities could not have been wholly alien to the practice of a people who paid so much homage to them in theory. But against this high tone of moral feeling there were grave counterbalancing faults to be set. The passion of the Romans for conquest hardened their hearts against the natural sentiment of compassion. The cruelty they learned in conflict with the enemy in the field, they exercised with no less harshness at home on their slaves, their children, their wives, and their parents. The ordinary punishments of the law were sanguinary and relentless. The patrician creditor confined and tortured his plebeian debtor.[1] The superstitious terrors of the people required to be allayed by human sacrifices.

[1] The fragment of the XII. Tables on this subject, "Secanto; si plusve minusve secuerint se fraude esto," may possibly be interpreted of a division of the debtor's estate rather than of his body: the severities which the creditor was allowed to inflict on the person of his debtor are sufficiently notorious without pressing the literal sense of these words.

The principles of the religion learned from Etruria fostered intolerant claims to the exclusive favour of the deities. To reject and persecute foreign forms of worship was long held by them as a religious principle, and the gradual relaxation of their bigotry only marked a decline in the vital influence of their creed. It was on this principle that their pride of nationality was founded, and in this it found its strongest support. The Romans regarded all foreigners as barbarians, long before they had any pretensions, like the Greeks, to superior refinement of their own. In their early language, as in their original sentiments, the name of stranger and enemy were synonymous. The effect of their religious training, had it continued to exercise its primitive sway over them, would have been to isolate their ideas and narrow the sphere of their sympathies, till they sank into exhaustion, evacuated of all life and energy. Austerity in its decay becomes debasing hypocrisy. The Romans would have been the victims, like the Egyptians and the Mexicans, of a formal civilization, and a rigid ritual. The progress of their social development would have been mere corruption. No expansion of the heart or the intellect could have sprung up among them, without the infusion of more genial principles of national life.

Internal corruption of the Etruscans.

The domination of a priestly caste may maintain the outward forms of a ritual and of a dogmatic creed long after the vitality of belief has become extinct. If the Etruscans gave no direct indication of having secretly fallen away from the faith of their ancestors, yet as it was impossible for the class to which the interpretation of the Divine will was assigned, to continue long deceived as to the impostures they practised, so we can hardly doubt that the Etruscan discipline had gradually relaxed its hold of the popular mind at the period of the Roman conquest. Still less had the

external respect which the Etruscans maintained for their form of worship prevented the seeds of corruption of manners from germinating in an atmosphere of wealth, luxury and security. There is reason to believe that they only fell before the Romans because they had already succumbed to the blandishments of licentious voluptuousness. The state of the arts in the later period of their glory testifies to great sensual refinement[1], such as is rarely found in conjunction with the masculine virtues required to withstand the assault of so vigorous an enemy as their youthful neighbours then were. The stories of their depravity which the Greeks adopted and circulated, may be gross exaggerations[2]: nevertheless, it is hardly reasonable to doubt their reflecting an image of the truth; for the Greeks had no particular temptation like the Romans, either themselves to defame them, or to take a pleasure in hearing them defamed. Undoubtedly the Romans in their turn would have trodden the same downward path of unbelief and corruption as their predecessors, even if they had been able to preserve themselves untainted by the Hellenic ideas, which gave in fact the most vehement impulse to their moral decline. The loosening of moral and religious ties, the spread of luxury, the growth of impure and extravagant tastes, were all subjects of complaint to the sages of the republic, before the conquest of Sicily and Magna Græcia, and still more of Greece beyond the sea, opened the floodgates of free-thinking and evil-living by which Rome was so rapidly inundated.[3]

[1] Micali, iv. 276.

[2] Theopompus and Timæus in Athenæus, xii. 14. referred to by Niebuhr, *H. R.* i. 139., who discredits them on the ground that no licentious representations are to be found on any Etruscan works of art. But recent investigators affirm the contrary. See *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxvi. p. 392.

[3] Sallust, *Fragm. Hist. ap. Augustin. Civ. D.* ii. 18.: "Ex quo tempore majorum mores non paulatim ut antea, sed torrentis modo

Degraded state of Greek intellect and morals in the sixth century of the city.

What had the descendants of the great masters of art, literature, and philosophy, to offer to the young aspirants for the honours of civilization? The old age of nations, it has been observed, is rarely venerable.[1] In the man advancing years, while they subdue the mind and bow the bodily frame, often elevate the character by chastening the passions. But in nations the active spirit of intellectual progress is generally succeeded by fretful restlessness in the pursuit of sensual gratification. The masculine appetites of instinct are replaced by conscious pruriency of imagination. Selfishness succeeds to self-devotion, pleasure is idolized instead of virtue, the subtle refinements of wit supplant the discipline of the understanding. In the sixth century of the city, the literature of Greece was still brilliant, but it had renounced every noble tendency. The taste for the æsthetic arts had given way to a demand for merely sensual enjoyments. Painting, sculpture, and music, had become lifeless refinements upon the spontaneous creations of the past age of invention. Poetry had dwindled from the sublime proportions of the Epic and the Drama to the compact neatness of the Epigram, and it had lost even more in spirit than in form. Greek literature, as it recommended itself to the admiration of the Roman conquerors, was the sickly product of an Oriental court, rather than the vigorous offspring of Athenian freemen. Voluptuous luxury reigned supreme in all the arrangements of private life; it was as cooks, parasites, buffoons and panders, that the Greeks ministered to all the tastes which their rude masters had yet developed; they appealed to a frivolous philosophy to dignify pleasure with the name of

præcipitati." Comp. Liv. xxxix. 6.; Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 7.; Vell. ii. 1.

[1] Compare Duruy, *Hist. des Romains*, ii. 4., from whom this image has been borrowed.

virtue, and declared to an admiring auditory that the gratifications of the table are worthy of the wise man's most serious attention.

Decay and fall of the religion of the Greeks.

While this feeble corruption pervaded the arts and literature, the manners, and morals of the Greeks, their religion, the most important element in all civilization, suffered more than all the rest in the general decay. The Greeks, notwithstanding the brilliancy of their mythology, and the inexhaustible fertility of their invention in discovering objects for every human character and disposition to worship, had never been a believing people. Even in the simple age of the Homeric poems, their heroes are represented as defying the authority of omens and appealing against them to the tribunal of conscience and reason.[1] It was in vain that the characters assigned to the rulers of the world were brought more into harmony with the demands of the understanding; that the deification of War, Lust and Deceit gave way to the more decorous worship of Compassion and Vigilance, Chastity and Renown, Persuasion and Concord.[2] The early appeal to Reason was never suffered to succumb before the pretensions of Tradition. Shadowy as were the foundations of the religious usages of the Greeks, which in their case it would be preposterous to dignify with the name of beliefs, they could make no show of resistance to the assaults of the intellect, and the bold speculations of trained dialecticians. Reason had settled into atheism at a time when science was content to believe that the sun was about the size of the Peloponnesus. The sceptics of the age of Pericles were hardly prompted to deny a first cause by any experimental amplification of the domain of secondary ones. If these heartless specula-

[1] As in the famous line (*Il.* μ. 243.):
εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

[2] Constant, *Polythéisme Romaine*, i. 18., from Pausanias.

tions provoked a transient reaction on the side of belief, the faint reclamations of the followers of Socrates in favour of Providence and God were soon swept away in the torrent of vulgar admiration which hailed the exaltation of Pleasure in the philosophy of the Garden. The general estimation which this system acquired, could not fail to prove fatal to all the higher virtues which depend on the principle of faith. Patriotism, honour, even common probity, had no longer any solid ground to stand upon; the affections which obey human instinct alone retained their influence, and even these were degraded and sensualized. The Epicureans built up the edifice of materialism of which Aristotle had laid the foundations. Infidelity was now fortified by empirical researches into the causes of things, and even the founders of the system of the Stoics could hardly sustain themselves above the universal denial of a state of future retribution. According to them the soul of the perfect sage passed, indeed, after death into the sun and stars, or the luminous regions between our atmosphere and the heavens, there to enjoy divine intuitions till the day of the general conflagration; but on the prospects of the common herd their silence was gloomy and ominous. Their barren ideal of virtue had no attraction for the multitude. It remained among the Greeks the curious speculation of a few subtle visionaries; nor did it make way even in the more congenial soil of the Roman mind till it descended from the height of its extravagant conceptions to a more just and practical view of human nature.

Fatal influence of philosophy upon the principles of faith and morals.

It was in the middle of the sixth century of the city, that Ennius began to familiarize the Romans with the models of Grecian literature. Himself a native of Magna Græcia, he had imbibed on subjects of popular belief the lax notions prevalent among the learned wherever the

Ennius introduces into Rome the poetry of Greece.

Greek language was spoken. His imitations were not confined to the old masters of epic and tragic song. While he felt the poetic beauty of the ancient mythology which he set himself to reproduce in Roman verse, he was so little imbued with any reverential feeling towards it, that he translated at the same time the Sacred History of Euhemerus[1], an author who had been denounced in his own age and country for impiety, in degrading the popular conceptions of the divinities into the mere deification of illustrious mortals. The Romans, unsuspicious as yet of the consequences of tampering with received dogmas, showed less indignation at this profanity, than their corrupt predecessors in the same school.[2] Even while the ideas imported from beyond the sea continued silently to undermine the forms of popular belief, the moral principles which are based on an instinctive sense of responsibility and apprehension of future retribution were too deeply rooted in the serious Italian mind to be easily shaken. It happened, however, that at the close of the same century, the Athenians sent an embassy to Rome to negotiate the remission of a sum which the republic had commanded them to pay to a neighbouring state.[3] Unfortunately the men whom they commissioned to plead the cause of justice before the tribunal of power were precisely the best qualified, by the parade of their specious sophistry, to confirm the principles of remorseless tyranny. The envoys were the most

[1] Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* i. 42.; Plut. *de Isid. et Osir.* Opp. vii. 420., Reiske; Lactant. *de fals. Relig.* i. 2.

[2] Constant, *Polyth. Rom.* ii. 17.

[3] Cic. *de Orat.* ii. 37.; Gell. vii. 14., xvii. 21. There is some reason to question the authenticity of this story, but it may serve at least to represent the undoubted fact of the jealousy with which Greek literature was regarded by the Romans of that age, and the hostile measures they adopted against it. In the book entitled *Suetonius de claris Rhetoribus* (in princ.), the decree of the senate is copied, by which, it is said, the rhetoricians and philosophers were expelled the city in the year U. C. 592. Comp. Gell. xv. 11.

eloquent representatives of the three great philosophical schools, Diogenes of the Stoic, Critolaus of the Peripatetic, and Carneades of the Academic. While the senate deliberated or haughtily deferred the question, these clever disputants amused themselves with haranguing the youth of Rome on the most recondite subjects of human inquiry, and found among them an eager and curious audience. The novelty of their topics was even less seductive than the charm of their conversation.[1] The subtleties of logic, and the graces of rhetoric, were equally new to their admiring pupils. They agreed in laying down the broad principles of materialism, and upon this foundation the Academic raised his bewildering labyrinth of doubt and indifference, confusing right and wrong, truth and falsehood, and holding up Expediency as the only unchangeable pole-star of human wisdom.

Cato warns the Romans against Greek literature.

Among the wise men of the elder generation one alone sounded the alarm at the licentiousness of this fashionable teaching. Cato the Censor, then approaching his eightieth year, exerted all the authority of his age and reputed wisdom to obtain the speedy settlement of the affair in suspense, and the dismissal of the dangerous negotiators.[2] His long experience of men and things had confirmed in him the antique prejudices of his childhood. The Greeks, he was wont to say, are the parents of every vice; whenever they shall introduce their literature among us, they will scatter the seeds of universal corruption.[3] His solemn warnings made a strong impression upon the senators; the philosophers were dismissed in all haste, but their lessons were not so easily forgotten. The fatal taste had

[1] Ælian. *V. H.* iii. 17.

[2] Plut. *Cat. Maj.* 22.; Quintil. *Inst.* xii. 1.

[3] Plin. *H.N.* xv. 4., xxix. 7. Plut. *Cat. Maj.* 23. He remarks upon this: ἀλλὰ ταύτην μὲν αὐτοῦ δυσφημίαν ὁ χρόνος ἀποδείκνυσι κενὴν, ἐν ᾧ τοῖς τε πράγμασιν ἡ πόλις ἤρθη μεγίστη, καὶ πρὸς Ἑλληνικὰ μαθήματα καὶ παιδείαν ἅπασαν ἔσχεν οἰκείως.

been implanted, and new successors arrived to cultivate it. Every art and science of Greek civilization soon had its foreign professors at Rome, and they all conspired together to overthrow the prejudices on which the salutary belief of the nation had so long been nourished.

Free-thinking introduced at Rome.

The relaxation of the bonds of religious belief, had overtaken the Greeks in the impotence of old age, and the vices to which it gave the rein were those of national decrepitude and degradation. It only sank them more deeply into the meannesses and cowardly trickeries of a people of slaves. They exercised their newly-acquired licence in devising shifts to escape chastisement rather than in steeling themselves against remorse for deeds of rapine and cruelty. But when the same pernicious science of false reasoning was introduced into Rome, it found there a people of heroes and conquerors, just at the dawn of national consciousness, just beginning to replace mere instinct by a serious sense of duty, and to ask themselves, what was the natural bent of their genius, and the responsibility it entailed upon them? The spirit of irreligion was all they wanted to silence every rising scruple, and encourage them to devote all their youthful energy and enthusiasm to the career of conquest, tyranny and plunder. It let them loose upon the world irresistible and relentless. Their strength was that of giants, and their vices were those of giants also. Pride, ambition, rapacity and violence were installed in the vacant thrones of the mild Saturn and the bounteous Ops, of the just Jupiter and the steadfast Terminus.

The tone of free-thinking harmonizes with the spirit of the age.

The tone of free-thinking in religious matters which became fashionable among the educated men at Rome corresponded in its bold assurance with the spirit of enterprise which marked at this epoch their political career. They

threw themselves into the new paths of science, not indeed as curious speculators or patient seekers of the truth, but with all the thorough-going intrepidity which signalized their public character. The moral feelings of the Romans were as coarse and blunt as their nervous sensibilities.[1] They did not feel the sacrifice, so painful to tender and scrupulous consciences, of rejecting the supports of faith and tradition. They beheld without misgiving the restraints of ancient principles give way before the advance of all-conquering reason, and regarded every new licence they acquired as a province wrested from the dominion of the enemy. Crimes of violence and rapacity revelled in a presumed impunity, as regards both divine and human laws, on a scale unparalleled perhaps in all human history. In the meanwhile the barriers of antique severity were swept rapidly away. The immense treasures of Greece and Asia were poured in overflowing streams into Rome. Luxury came before refinement. Art was adopted as fashionable before intelligence had learned to appreciate it. The fastidious patrician patronized all the masters of ancient literature; but the models from Alexandria or Cyrene which he selected to imitate show how little he could discriminate between their merits. Civilization continued long to be the mere exterior polish of a small educated class, and was courted and caressed as an ornament rather than felt as the humanizer of the heart.

But superstition was at hand to avenge religion, as it always will, sooner or later. The first symptoms of the decay of the old Italian traditions, comparatively pure and austere

Introduction of Oriental superstitions.

[1] The Romans, says Augustin (*Civ. D.* ii. 12.), forbade the poets to bring the magistrates into contempt, but imposed no restraint on their ridiculing the gods. He refers to an expression of Scipio in Cicero's work on the republic, and adds: Poetas Romanos nulli Deorum pepercisse."

as they were, were followed at a short interval by the introduction of hideous and brutal mysteries of foreign origin. The overthrow of the faith of the Greeks in a divine Providence just, wise and beneficent, had been succeeded by a vulgar addiction to magic, the belief, that is, in the powers of evil, the science, as the Hindoos define it, of the fallen angels.[1] When man has once lost his hold of the idea of retribution and compensating good, he has no resource but to prostrate himself before the powers of evil, of which he is conscious around him and within him. This spirit of fear may indeed co-exist along with the spirit of love, and thus even in the laws of the Twelve Tables we find that the practices of magic were authoritatively interdicted.[2] But it was when the gods of Greece had fallen into utter contempt, that devil-worship first reared itself ostentatiously by the side of their temples. The Babylonian sorcerers and astrologers had followed the Macedonian armies into the west. The magician Osthanes, under the patronage of Alexander, taught the occult sciences of Persia to the Greeks.[3] Mystic rites, ostensibly connected with the respectable names of familiar deities, were promenaded from land to land, and the curious and dissatisfied were seduced into initiation in them by the promise of superior illumination or extraordinary powers. It was at the time when the attack of Ennius upon the divinity of the rulers of Olympus had attracted general notice, that an obscure native of Greece brought first to Etruria, and shortly afterwards to the more congenial soil of Rome, the mysterious orgies of Bacchus, which had already obtained an infamous celebrity in the East. The horrible wickednesses which were perpetrated at the initiations, at which the passions of the youth of either sex were inflamed by wine and

[1] Constant, *du Polythéisme Romain*, i. 105.

[2] Plin. *H. N.* xxviii. 4., xxx. 3.

[3] Plin. *H. N.* xxx. 2.

music, secresy and security, had been practised by the devotees without remorse for some time, before they were discovered by the revelations of a slave to her lover, for whose purity or safety she was concerned. The matter was laid before the consuls, and the results of a thorough investigation exposed to the shuddering multitude. The Bacchic orgies were denounced as a monstrous association of debauchery, branching out into adulteries, murders, and possibly seditious combinations. Through them the crime of poisoning, it was said, had become familiar to the Roman matrons; and after the first root of the evil had been extirpated in the city, the inquisition which was made throughout the rest of Italy brought no less than two thousand such miscreants to justice.[1]

They are proscribed, but continue to reappear.

It was one thing, however, to proscribe an indecent cult, and visit its devotees with condign chastisement, another to eradicate the moral want and to stifle the spiritual disquietude which impelled men to slake at such impure sources their thirst for a fixed belief. The Bacchanalia, though constantly interdicted, continued to reappear in the city. The Thracian or Orphic mysteries, in which Jupiter was said to be worshipped under the title of Sabazius, caused hardly less scandal to the politic defenders of the pristine institutions.[2] Æsculapius and Cybele were admitted to the honours of the national religion[1], and other foreign divinities were placed, by a curious analogy, on the footing of tributaries to the state.[2] The monsters of Egypt, however, were more rigidly proscribed: the senate

[1] Liv. xxxix. 8. 19. 41.; Cic. *de Leg.* ii. 15.; Val. Max. i. 3. 1.; comp. Augustin, *C. D.* vii. 21.; Tertull. *Apolog.* 6. A. U. 557.

[2] Val. Max. i. 3. 2.: "C. Cornelius Hispullus prætor peregrinus .... edicto Chaldæos .... abire .... jussit. Idem qui Sabazii Jovis cultu simulato mores Rom. inficere conati sunt domos suas repetere coegit." A. U. 614.

[3] Liv. xxix. 14.; Ovid, *Met.* xv. 625.

[4] Tertull. (*ad Nation.* i. 10.) calls them, "vectigales Dei." The government demanded a tribute for permission to worship them.

overthrew their altars; but their foreign adherents, supported doubtless by the secret favour of the populace, as often surreptitiously restored them.[1] Rome meanwhile overflowed with the impure spawn of superstition. Conjurors, soothsayers, astrologers and fortune-tellers filled every street, and introduced themselves into every domestic establishment. The dreams of Cæsar and Pompeius were gravely related.[2] Cicero collected the records of supernatural phenomena[3]; Vatinius invoked the shades of the dead, and read, it was said, the will of the gods in the entrails of a murdered child.[4] Sextus demanded the secrets of futurity of the Thessalian sorceress[5]; Figulus, the Etruscan augur, obtained the reputation of a prophet[6]; Appius Claudius consulted the oracle of Delphi.[7] The belief in portents and omens exercised an unconscious sway over thousands who openly derided all spiritual existences, and professed atheists trembled in secret at the mysterious potency of magical incantations.

Austere principles of the old Roman law of family: 1. Of marriage.

Nevertheless, though some of the wisest statesmen combined to sap the foundations of the vulgar belief, though Cicero wrote in disproof of the science of divina-

[1] Representations of Egyptian rites are said to be found on some Etruscan vases. Heyne, *Opusc.* vi. 194.; comp. Tertull. *l. c.*: "Ceterum Serapim et Isidem et Harpocratem et Anubim prohibitos Capitolio Varro commemorat, eorumque statuas a senatu disjectas, non nisi per vim popularium restructas. Sed tamen et Gabinius Consul Kal. Jan. cum vix hostias probaret, præ popularium cœtu, quia nil de Serape et Iside constituisset, potiorem habuit senatus censuram quam impetum vulgi, et aras institui prohibuit." Cicero (*de Leg.* ii. 8.) denounces the public celebration of foreign rites, but allows them to be cultivated in private.

[2] If, that is, we may suppose Plutarch and others to have drawn from contemporary authorities.

[3] Cic. *de Divin.* i. [4] Cic. *in Vatin.* 6. [5] Lucan, vi. in fin.

[6] Suet. (*Oct.* 94.) asserts as a current tradition, that Figulus predicted to the father of Augustus that his son should become lord of the world. Comp. Dion, xlv. 1.

[7] Lucan, v. 70. See above.

tion[1], and even Cato the Censor had wondered how one augur could meet another without a smile[2], the formal usages of the Roman religion continued for ages to survive the encroachments of free-thinking upon the faith they originally symbolised. Nor was the resistance less obstinate which the fundamental prescriptions of social life opposed to the elements of innovation. The relations of family and property among the Romans were determined on a peculiarly artificial system. The first principle of their law was the paramount right of the state over the citizen. Whether as head of a family or as proprietor, he had no natural rights of his own; his privileges were created by the law as well as defined by it. The state, in the plenitude of her power, delegated a portion of her own irresponsibility to the citizen, who satisfied the conditions she required, in order to become the parent of her children; but at the same time she demanded of him the sacrifice of his free agency to her own rude ideas of political expediency. The right of contracting the union which she dignified with the name of proper matrimony, was restricted to persons duly qualified, not only by the ordinary and reasonable conditions of mature age, consent of parents, distance of blood and actual celibacy, but by the status also of citizenship.[3] The modes in which such a marriage might be contracted

[1] In the second part of the treatise *de Divinatione*, Cicero argues in his own person against the possibility of any discovery of future events, and particularly against the whole Etruscan discipline of augury (see ii. 12.): "Ut ordiar de haruspicina quam ego reipublicæ causa communisque religionis colendam censeo: sed soli sumus; licet verum exquirere," &c.

[2] Cic. *de Divin.* ii. 24. This remark was directed against the encroachments of the Etruscan religious ministry of which Cato entertained an old-fashioned jealousy. It does not appear that he was otherwise than a believer in the efficacy of rites which he deemed strictly national. The same cannot be said of Cicero.

[3] The restriction was originally still more closely limited. It was in the year U. C. 310 that the tribune Canuleius effected the authorization of marriage between patricians and plebeians. Liv. iv. 2.

were three: confarreation, a simple but solemn religious ceremony; coemption, a symbolical representation of the primitive usage of bargain and sale; and use, a remnant of the rude state of society, when it was first thought expedient to hallow by an honourable title the faithful cohabitation of a definite period. By one of these modes the woman passed from her parent's family into that of her husband, and became a participator in all its religious and social privileges. She thus became entitled to the style of housewife (materfamilias), more venerable than that of matron (matrona), which belonged in strictness to the female connected with the male by a lower tie.[1] She was delivered, in legal phrase, into her husband's hands; his dominion over her was recognized as absolute; he became master of her person and her goods almost as if by the right of conquest; alone, or at a later period, with the concurrence of her next of kin, he could condemn her to death.[2] In her civil relation to him she assumed no other footing than that of her own children. She inherited from him as an adopted daughter, and after his death received a legal guardian in one of her new kinsmen, or whomsoever her husband might appoint by will.

2. Of parental authority.

The same austerity presided over the old Roman ideas of the parental authority. Within the sanctuary of the family mansion the father ruled supreme. He exercised the power of life and death over his children as over his wife.[3] The father could sell his child, and, if the child recovered his

[1] Heinecc. *Antiq. Rom.* i. 10. 1. Cicero says, *Topic.* 3.: "Genus enim est uxor, ejus duæ formæ; una matrum familias earum quæ in manum convenerant, altera earum quæ tantummodo uxores habentur."

[2] The authorities referred to are Dionys. *Ant. Rom.* ii. 25.; Gell. ii. 23.; Plin. *H. N.* xiv. 13.; Suet. *Tib.* 35.; Tac. *Ann.* ii. 1., xiii. 32.; Val. Max. vi. 3. 8.

[3] Besides the jurists see Dionys. ii. 26, 27.; Val. Max. v. 2.; Senec. *de Clem.* i. 15.; Sallust, *B. C.* 39.

freedom by emancipation, could sell him again even to the third time, before he finally escaped altogether from the parental dominion.[1] The Roman jurists remarked with truth that the extent to which the authority of the parent over the child was sanctioned by their law, was unknown to the institutions of any other state.[2] But this authority was never supposed to be founded in any natural principle; it was merely the creation of state policy: it followed as a corollary upon the idea of civil marriage, and had no place where the union of the parents, as in the *contubernium* or *concubinatus*, though sanctioned and protected by the law, was not consecrated by the title of just or proper matrimony. It was intimately connected with a religious idea, according to which the head of each family was bound to the maintenance of the sacrifices peculiar to it. Each civil household formed an unit in the aggregate which composed what may be denominated the political family, the gens of the Roman community. Whether originally connected in blood, or united only by legal fiction, identity of patronymic and participation in the same duties, obligations, and religious services, maintained the bond of clanship between the several members of these independent societies.

Undermined by the laxer principles of natural equity.

A system so artificial as this could only flourish in a peculiar and exceptional state of society. As soon as an opening was effected for the influx of new modes of thought, it was assuredly doomed to perish, however circumstances, for a while, might retard its fall. The free operation of the principles of natural equity could not fail to undermine by degrees the prejudices upon which such a system rested. But the extreme tenacity of forms which characterized the ancient Romans,

[1] Dionys. ii. 27.
[2] Gaius, i. 55.: "Fere enim nulli alii sunt homines qui talem in filios suos habent potestatem qualem nos habemus."

involved the early progress of all new ideas among them in great obscurity. When it suited Cicero's views to adopt the tone of social conservatism, he could complain of the great luminaries of Roman jurisprudence, even of the generation before his own, for the tendency they had shown to relax the primitive strictness of the law of family. Undoubtedly, the burden of maintaining the family sacrifices had become more and more grievous as the interest in their significance and the number of the clan had diminished. The illustrious Scævola was charged with lending the authority of his name, not, indeed, to the overthrow of the old principles, but to a liberal construction of the law regarding them.[1] The examples of Clodius and Dolabella, who resorted openly to a legal fiction to obtain their adoption into foreign houses, show the laxity which pervaded the ideas of their time.[2] Clodius himself had allowed the sacrifices of his own family to fall into desuetude[3]; a demagogue would not have laid himself open to animadversion in this respect, if he had had any reason to fear the prejudices of the people. The women of Rome declaimed against the tyranny of the old law, which placed them upon so unequal a footing with their husbands in the nuptial relation. The men themselves united with their consorts in demanding greater mutual facilities for divorce. Confarreation allowed the husband, indeed, to put away the wife in some strictly limited cases, and by means of a solemn religious process; but it gave the wife no licence to emancipate herself.[4] Such restrictions were incompatible with the prevailing laxity of morals, and it is probable that in the time of Cæsar

[1] Cic. *de Leg.* ii. 19. Comp. *pro Murena*, 12.: "Sacra interire illi (majores) noluerunt, horum (jctorum) ingenio senes ad coemptiones faciendas, interimendorum sacrorum causa, reperti sunt."

[2] Cic. *pro Dom.* 13.; Suet. *Tib.* 2.; Dion, xxxviii. 12., xlii. 29.

[3] Cic. *pro Dom.* 12.

[4] Festus, in voc. Diffarreatio.

this particular form of marriage had already become almost obsolete.[1] But coemption, or the fictitious purchase of the wife from her parents, admitted of remancipation or the restitution of the symbolic purchase-money on the part of the wife; and this was the form of which the Roman women so freely availed themselves, under the influence of passion, caprice, or pecuniary interest.[2] This facility of separation could not fail to introduce new regulations in the wife's favour in the settlement of the dowry, and in other not less important respects.[3] At the same time the influence of public opinion imposed limits upon the actual exercise of the parental power. By new exceptional provisions, the child obtained independent property, together with the means of transferring and bequeathing it. But it is impossible to assign the exact date of any of these innovations; and all we can assume with certainty of the time which we are now considering is, that in practice the principles of equity and natural reason were beginning to temper the harsh formalities of the old law throughout the social relations.

Still more rigid and exclusive were the ideas which originally regulated the tenure of property. The cupidity of the simple warriors of ancient Rome was limited to lands and houses, slaves and animals.[4] These accordingly were the only objects which the primitive Roman law recognised as property. For these the citizen fought and conquered; these the state secured to him by placing all the modes of procedure regarding them under the

Original law of property.

[1] Compare what Tacitus says of it in the time of Tiberius (*Ann.* iv. 16.).

[2] See on this subject Cælius's letter to Cicero, *ad Div.* viii. 7.

[3] Cic. *pro Murena*, 12.: "Mulieres omnes propter infirmitatem consilii majores in tutorum potestate esse voluerunt: hi (jcti) invenerunt genera tutorum quæ potestate mulierum continerentur. Comp. Gaius, ii. 118.

[4] Ulpian. *Regul.* tit. 19. 1.

sanction of religious forms. These she denominated things, *mancipi*, or *handhold* property, and threw the protection of the law over them for the benefit of her citizens only. No length of occupation could obtain the guarantee of the law to any such property in the hands of an alien.[1] In the course of time, however, other wants made themselves felt. The precious metals, ornamental stuffs, pictures, statues and trinkets of all kinds acquired a value in the eyes of the plunderers of the world's treasures. All such objects accordingly were thrown together in one multifarious class, distinguished from the first by the negative particle only. They were things *necmancipi*, not handhold. While the sale and transfer of the former class of objects were placed under the guarantee of the state, which thought to protect the purchaser from fraud, by requiring the strict execution of the letter of the contract[2], the latter were only to be acquired at the risk of the buyer. He was obliged to secure himself against deception by his own ingenuity; no religious and sacramental ceremonies intervened to hallow such random transactions; the mere passing from hand to hand, bare tradition, as the jurists phrased it, was a sufficient mode of procedure. In short the transfer of things not-handhold followed the law of nature, while that of the others was retained within the magic circle of the law of the city.

Affected by the decisions of the prætors.

But it was found impossible to leave so large and increasing a portion of the objects of value in so unprotected a state. By degrees the decisions of the prætors founded on the principles of equity accumulated into a new body of

[1] XII. Tab. 3.

[2] According to the formula, "Uti lingua nuncupassit ita jus esto." XII. Tab. 6. Comp. Cic. *de Orat.* i. 57., *de Off.* iii. 16., where he tells a curious story, from which it appears how completely the law failed in its object. Compare Troplong, *de l'Influence du Christianisme sur le Droit Civil des Romains*, p. 19.

law regarding them. By the side of the civil law, which established the original exclusive definition of handhold or Quiritary dominion, there grew up a new system of natural property under the sanction of the prætorian edicts. This secondary law was applicable to the great mass of provincial territory. While the ager Romanus might be held in full or Quiritary possession, under the guarantees of mancipation and usucaption, the soil of the provinces was supposed, by a fiction of the law, to pertain exclusively to the state, and its actual holders were regarded in the light of occupiers and tenants. In real fact this tenant-right was equivalent to actual possession; it was perpetual and irrevocable, and might be transferred by exchange, sale, gift, or succession. But, inasmuch as it did not come under the primitive idea of property, it failed to realize the full dominion which alone was qualified as Quiritary tenure. Accordingly, such property could only be transferred under the forms of equity, and the vast extent and magnitude of the transactions of this kind daily occurring, contributed rapidly to enhance the importance of this new branch of law, and to diffuse a general knowledge of its principles and respect for them.

Gradually modified by the principles of natural reason.

The attempt to infuse the more liberal spirit of natural reason into the strict forms of the original law could not fail to produce much confusion and inconsistency, and give a fair handle to the sarcasms with which a clever advocate might find it convenient to assail the whole system. In the speech for Murena, Cicero audaciously characterizes the civil law as a mass of fictions and incongruities, and declares, with all the presumption of the successful pleader, that the science is not worth the three days' study which would suffice to master its real principles.[1] But his testimony

[1] Cic. *pro Mur.* 12, 13.

is less exceptionable to the fact that the most illustrious jurisconsults of his own and the previous generation combined to exalt the estimation of equity over strict law. Such were the views of Sulpicius and of the orator Crassus.[1] Scævola, we have already seen, impelled the tendency of public opinion in the same direction. And Cicero himself, though on some occasions he did not scruple to become the advocate of antiquity, was on the whole a partisan of liberal innovation, and his influence contributed in no slight degree to the progress of the new ideas on these subjects.[2] He professed to base his administration of justice in his province on the principles of humanity and reason. As a philosopher and a statesman, he declared that the source and rule of right were not to be sought in the laws of the Twelve Tables, but in the depths of human intelligence; that equity is the true idea of law, the supreme reason engraved in the nature of man, written on his heart, immutable and eternal, beyond the jurisdiction of the senate, bearing sway over all mankind; this law the deity alone has conceived, established and promulgated.

Cicero's pure morality.

These noble sentiments constituted, as it were, the essence which the wisest of the Romans had distilled from the records of Greek philosophy. Above all others it bore the flavour of the mind of Plato, and of the mild and liberal masters of the Academic school. This was the great boon which Greece proffered to her conquerors, to counteract in some degree the malign influence of so many of her lessons. We shall have occasion hereafter to trace the steps by which the Roman law was

[1] Cic. *Philipp.* iv. 5. of Servius Sulpicius: "Jus civile semper ad æquitatem et facilitatem referebat." Of Crassus (*de Orat.* i.): "Multa tum contra scriptum pro æquo et bono dixit."

[2] Cic. *ad Att.* vi. 1., *de Leg.* ii. 5, 6., *de Fin.* iii. 20., *de Off.* i. 7. *de Rep.* i. 17., iii. 17.: "Natura enim juris explicanda est nobis, neque ad hominibus repetenda natura."

humanized by the Greek Philosophy. The sect of the Stoics, just now beginning to excite attention and compel admiration at Rome, became by the logical character of its speculations, and the lofty sense it inculcated of justice and duty, an efficient instrument in this salutary reform. For the present we must be content with observing the progress of humanity in its action on a few of the most refined and intelligent class. The pure morality of Cicero's treatise on Duties, and the practical exhibition of benevolence and natural piety which characterizes his ethical and religious writings[1], could not have sprung from the bosom of a society which was totally unable to appreciate them.

The beneficial effects of Greek philosophy confined to a small class.

It may be presumed however that the evil which the Romans imbibed from their Greek teachers penetrated deeper into the heart of society than the good. Laxity of principle and indifference of belief had their attractions for the vulgar, while the nobler lessons of philosophy, its ideas of equity and natural right, would only be appreciated by the refined and educated. The priests, who belonged to this latter class, might shrink from the atrocity of human sacrifices[2],

[1] Such, for instance, as the treatise *de Senectute, de Amicitiâ, de Naturâ Deorum.*

[2] The Romans affirmed that human sacrifices had been abolished by the elder Brutus (Macrob. i. 7.). But on three occasions, at least, such victims were demanded at a much later period; namely, in the year U. C. 527 (Oros. iv. 13.), and again U. C. 536 (Liv. xxii. 57., "minime Romano sacro"); and once more, U. C. 640 (Plut. *Qu. Rom.* p. 284.). Soon after this the rite was denounced by a decree of the senate. Plin. *H. N.* xxx. 3., A. U. C. 657. But compare xxviii. 3.: "Boario vero in foro Græcum Græcamque defossos, aut aliarum gentium cum quibus tum res esset, etiam nostra ætas vidit." Dion Cassius, indeed, asserts that a sacrifice of this kind took place at the triumph of Julius Cæsar (xliii. 24.), and adds that he cannot find that any oracle required it. The statements of the Greeks on any subject of this kind are to be received with caution, both on account of their ignorance of Roman manners and their prejudice against them. Thus Eusebius (*Paneg.* 13.) affirms that human sacrifices were continued at Rome to his day, alluding, perhaps, to the words of Lactantius

and extenuate the literal signification of the most scandalous of the national dogmas; the nobles might soften the rigour of ancient law; but to the common people these silent changes were offensive and unintelligible. The literature of Rome, adopted as it was from Greece, was an instrument for enlarging men's ideas, and refining their sentiments; but it remained a dead letter to the mass of the citizens, to whom the glaring spectacles of the circus and amphitheatre proved more attractive than the intellectual culture of a conquered foe.

Influence of Greek on Roman literature.

It was towards the end of the second Punic war that Upper Italy first became filled with Greek settlers. They came indeed, in the first instance, in the train of conquest, and in the condition of slaves. But their well-trained talents soon secured them ascendancy, and they made their captors captive.[1] Throughout the sixth century of the city the foreign professors of science and literature were flocking into Rome. Archagathus, the first Greek physician, came in the year 534, and the schools of grammar and rhetoric were represented at the end of the century by Crates of Mallus, the commentator on Homer. The Greek language was first rendered fashionable by Scipio Africanus and his friend Lælius. Paulus Æmilianus[2], and in the next generation Scipio Æmilianus[3], were celebrated for

(*de fals. Rel.* i. 21.): "Etiam nunc sanguine colitur humano (Jupiter Latiaris);" which undoubtedly refers only to a libation of the blood of gladiators. Dion's statement may be some misconception of the nature of a military punishment. In ancient times the consul, prætor, or dictator, could devote to Mars a victim selected from the legion. Liv. viii. 10. The story of the human sacrifices of Octavius at the capture of Perusia (Suet. *Octav.* 15.) is dubious and obscure.

[1] Hor. *Ep.* ii. 1. 156.:

"Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit."

[2] Plut. *Æmil.* 28.; Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 40. 30.

[3] Scipio Æmilianus was adopted by the son of the elder Africanus, and bore his cognomen also. Each of them had a friend named Lælius, and both Scipios and both Lælii were equally distinguished for their zeal for Greek literature.

their interest in the literature of Greek antiquity. It was with a verse of Homer that the latter predicted that Rome should one day perish, like sacred Ilium.[1] Early in the century commenced the adaptation of Greek metres to the Latin tongue.[2] Ennius and Livius, under the patronage of the liberal nobles of the day, rendered their countrymen familiar with the models of the Epos and the Drama.[3] But these innovations were not unresented. There are not wanting indications of a struggle between the old school and the new, the domestic and the foreign, in literature as in religion and law. The Romans possessed, indeed, even at that early time, a literature of their own, which many of them were ill-disposed to see superseded by an exotic growth. No nation, perhaps, was ever so rich in ballad poetry, or had more completely woven into verse the whole circle of its ancient traditions. The rhythm indeed was rugged, and the strain homely[4]; but the subject was rendered dear by its appeal to family associations. The contempt with which the imitators of the Greeks, such as Ennius, regarded these rude but interesting essays in heroic poetry, excited, we may believe, a dogged spirit of opposition. The victory of the Hexameter over the Saturnian verse symbolized a sweeping

[1] *Iliad*, vi. 448.

ἔσσεται ἦμαρ ὅτάν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἱρή.

See Appian, *Pun.* 132.

[2] Porcius Licinius, apud Gell. xvii. 21., speaks of a foreign Muse:

"Pœnico bello secundo Musa pinnato gradu
Intulit se bellicosam in Romuli gentem feram."

Comp. Hor. *Ep.* ii. 1. 161.

"Serus enim Græcis admovit acumina chartis;
Et post Punica bella quietus quærere cœpit
Quid Sophocles et Thespis et Æschylus utile ferrent."

[3] Suet. *de ill. Gramm.* 1.: "Antiquissimi doctorum, qui iidem et poetæ et semi-Græci erant, Livium et Ennium dico."

[4] Hor. *l. c.*:

"Sic horridus ille
Defluxit numerus Saturnius."

revolution of ideas, and obliterated the cherished recollections of many centuries. Obscure as is the history of this long-forgotten contest, it would appear that Nævius was the champion of the old Roman literature. He was the enemy and traducer of Scipio, and, on the other hand, the friend of the elder Cato[1]; the satiric poetry, of which he was the earliest known author, continued to be the most genuine production of the Roman muse[2]; his dramatic pieces seem, from the titles of many of them, to have predicted the manners of the urban populace[3]; he contended for the rude purity of the old language assailed in form and substance by innovation on all sides; and he felt that with himself that purity would perish. It was with this feeling, assuredly, that he composed for himself an epitaph, filled with a mournful presentiment of this impending change. *If immortals,* he said, *might weep for mortal men, the divine Camœnæ would weep for Nævius the poet: for since he has descended to the receptacle of the dead, men have forgotten at Rome the use of Latin speech.*[4]

Nævius, champion of the old Roman literature.

The melancholy strain of Nævius is strikingly contrasted with the tone of exultation in which his victorious rival speaks also from his tomb. *Let no man,* exclaims Ennius, *weep for me! For why? I live in the mouths of my countrymen.*[5]

His rival Ennius.

[1] Cic. *de Senect.* 14.

[2] Quintil. i.: "Satira tota nostra est."

[3] As, for instance, Agitatoria, Ariolus, Bubulcus, Cerdo, Figulus, Fullones, Lignaria, Tunicularia. Duruy, *H. des Romains*, ii. 26.

[4] Nævius apud Gell. i. 24.:

"Mortales immortales flere si foret fas,
Flerent Divæ Camœnæ Nævium poetam:
Itaque postquam est Orcino traditus thesauro,
Obliti sunt Romæ loquier Latina lingua."

[5] Ennius apud Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i. 15.:

"Nemo me lachrymis decoret, nec funera fletu
Faxit: cur? volito vivus per ora virûm."

Gell. xvii. 21.

The influence of the Hellenizing school now became predominant The career which Ennius had marked out was followed by a long succession of writers, chiefly dramatic, who devoted themselves to the adaptation or servile imitation of Greek models. Cæcilius, Pacuvius, Plautus and Terence refined successively upon the language and taste of their predecessors. Accius alone ventured to compose a few pieces on Roman subjects, but these fell speedily into oblivion. But meanwhile the mantle of Nævius had fallen upon Lucilius, whose satiric vein was inflamed with genuine indignation against the encroachment of foreign ideas. Respected as he was in his lifetime, and long admired after his death, the indiscriminate severity with which he censured his contemporaries seems to bespeak the impugner of certain principles, rather than of personal vices. All the great poets of his day fell equally under his lash; for all of them offended equally against the independence of the Roman muse. He exercised the freedom of his pen even upon Æmilianus and Lælius, but kept his raillery within such bounds as to escape the persecution which had befallen Nævius.[1] Bitter were his sarcasms on the old Roman or Sabine patricians, who deserved rather from their manners to be deemed Greeks[2], and he exposed, we may believe, with rude scorn the sophistry and impiety of the foreign philosophers.[3] Accordingly, Lucilius made a deep impression upon his age in rallying the austere virtues of the nation around the principles of antiquity. Many a grave master of a Roman house-

Lucilius

[1] Hor. *Sat.* ii. 1., and the Scholiast in loc. He also attacked M. Scævola. Cic. *de Orat.* i.

[2] Lucil. apud Cic. *de Fin.* i. 3.:

"Græcum te, Albuti, quam Romanum atque Sabinum,
Maluisti dici."

[3] Lactant. *div. Inst.* v. 15.: "Lucilius apud quem disserens Neptunus de re difficillima, ostendit non posse id explicari, nec si Carneadem ipsum Orcus remittat."

hold, disgusted with the loose morality of the Greek models of taste, involved in one sweeping condemnation all who cultivated the detested language[1], and long resisted the current of fashion, in training his children in the frugal habits and modest discipline of his ancestors.[2]

Imitative character of the Roman literature.

But the seductions of the most harmonious, flexible and copious of languages proved irresistible. Even Lucilius himself could not refrain from interweaving Greek words with the homely staple of his Latin style. In the common intercourse of life Greek became a fashionable vehicle of expression. The example of Cicero in his letters confirms the allusions of Lucretius to the practice of mingling the two languages freely together in familiar conversation. The Roman nobles, when they sate down gravely to the composition of their own historical memoirs, adopted sometimes the idiom of the vanquished foreigner in preference to their own[3]; or, if they aspired to the distinction of greater originality, still devoted themselves to the imitation

[1] Cic. *de Orat.* ii. 66.: "M. Cicero senex . . . . . nostros homines similes esse Syrorum venalium, ut quisque optime Græce sciret, ita esse nequissimum."

[2] Horace alludes to the old-fashioned practical education of some of the Roman youth even in his day. (*Ars Poet.* 325.) Cicero says (*de Leg.* ii. 23.) that in his childhood the XII. Tables were committed to memory: "quas nunc nemo discit." Varro, apud Non. in v. Assa voce: "In conviviis pueri modesti ut cantarent carmine antiquo in quibus laudes erant majorum," i. e. the old family ballads: comp. Dionys. *A. R.* i. 79. Cicero would revive the recital of these family records, as a commendable but obsolete practice (*de Leg.* ii. 24.).

[3] Albinus, Lucullus, and perhaps Sulla, wrote their memoirs in Greek. The dictator adopted the name of Epaphroditus when he addressed himself to Greek correspondents. Polyb. xl. 6.; Plut. *Lucull.* 1. The son of the elder Scipio Africanus wrote an historical work in Greek. Cic. *Brut.* 19. Of the familiar use of Greek in common speech we have two remarkable instances. It will be remembered that Cæsar, on seeing Brutus among his assassins, is said to have exclaimed in Greek, *καὶ σὺ τέκνον*, and Casca's call for aid was in the same language, *ἀδελφέ, βοήθει*. Suet. *Jul.* 82.; Plut. *Cæs. Brut.*

of his most illustrious authors. This premature introduction to the best of models proved more fatal to the excellence of the Romans in poetry, than in any other walk of literature. Imagination is seldom found to survive the birth of self-consciousness and reflection. The noblest poetical compositions of the age of Cæsar were mere imitations or paraphrases. Sublime invention and vigorous powers of versification were cramped in Lucretius by the trammels of a subject unworthy of his genius, to which he was attracted by an undue admiration of foreign models. The formal adaptations of Catullus, elegant as they are, fall far short of his occasional pieces in the charms of genuine simplicity. Whenever, indeed, the Romans ventured to rely on themselves alone, their productions may rank among the noblest efforts of the true poetical temperament.

Roman oratory

This rage for imitation, however, conduced undoubtedly to the diversion of the mind from politics and the real business of life, and thus became an engine of no mean importance in preparing the Roman people for a monarchical usurpation. The general diffusion of literary taste among the nobility enlarged the circle of their interests, and, immersed in the study of writers of an age long past away, they could forget the troubles and perils of their own. One intellectual occupation alone remained, which recalled them habitually to the scenes of daily life, and bound them fast to the wheel of political excitement. The Roman noble was by position and education an orator. From his early youth he was instructed in eloquence as an art; he was drilled and disciplined for the business of the forum, at least as carefully as for the camp. To the Roman people he must address himself in the language of the people themselves; he might clothe his harangue in more fashionable phraseology for the perusal of his associates: but he must speak so as to

be understood by a homely and uneducated populace. Whatever allowance we may make for the revisal which Cicero probably bestowed on his written orations, they still remain, on the whole, an imperishable monument of the spoken language of the nation. Accordingly, the skill of the political orator appeared in nothing more than in combining a technical knowledge of the rules of rhetoric with a pure and idiomatic Latin style. It was the great merit of the mother of the Gracchi that she had bred up her children in the simplicity of their native tongue, of which they availed themselves effectively in their popular harangues.[1] Q. Catulus also and L. Crassus were celebrated for their vernacular diction at a time when the study of Greek models had corrupted most of their contemporary speakers.[2] But these illustrious men had themselves drunk deep of the fountains of foreign art: the persuasiveness of their eloquence was derived in no slight degree from their acquaintance with the empirical science of the rhetoricians. They had renounced the control of the antique prejudices which were still striving to restrict the studies of the Roman youth, and stood in the first rank as patrons of the modern or liberal style of oratory. For in this department of intellectual exertion, also, there was the same struggle between the old and new, the domestic and foreign element, as we have already remarked in so many others. In the flourishing period of the Roman commonwealth, the art of speaking was in fact the art of governing. It was only in the familiar society of the rulers of the state that mysteries so important were to be

[1] Cic. *Brut.* 58.: "Legimus epistolas Corneliæ matris Gracchorum: apparet filios non tam in gremio educatos quam in sermone matris."

[2] Cic. *Brut.* 35.: "Fuit in Catulo sermo Latinus, quæ laus dicendi non mediocris ab oratoribus plerisque neglecta est." Of Crassus (c. 58): "Latine loquendi et sine molestia diligens elegantia."

sought and communicated.[1] From the first the nobles regarded with jealous apprehension the pretensions of the Greek rhetoricians who opened their public schools for instruction in eloquence. The foreign intruders were repeatedly ordered to quit Rome; but the taste they had inspired, the interests they had developed, were not to be repressed: the young aspirants for forensic honours repaired to schools of art beyond the sea and returned from Athens and Apollonia, Mytilene and Rhodes, partisans of the Attic or Asiatic style respectively, but equally contemptuous towards the old homely Italian. Ultimately, even Roman teachers began to give public instruction in the art of rhetoric[1]; but either they were not qualified to compete with the Greek professors, or fashion refused to countenance them. When Cicero as a young man wished to avail himself of the Latin exercises over which Plotius presided, his advisers recommended him rather to train himself for public life by declaiming in Greek.[2]

taught by the rhetoricians.

But the decay of the ancient ideas was still more apparent in another quarter. The vitals of the republic were corrupted in the corruption of her legions. In the course of the last two centuries a great change had taken place in the composition of the Roman armies, a still greater in their habits and sentiments. In ancient times only the wealthier citizens had served in the legions, armed and equipped according to the class assigned to them

Decay of military discipline.

[1] Cic. *Brut.* 72.: "Nec id solum domesticæ consuetudinis, ut dudum de Læliorum et Muciorum familiis audiebamus."

[1] Suet. (*de Cl. Rhet.* 1.) cites the edict of the censors, A. U. 662, by whom the Latin rhetoricians were branded as pernicious innovators. It does not appear that they were expelled, or their schools closed. Plotius and his principal followers, Gnipho, Otacilius, and Clodius, were freemen. The Romans did not consider their profession creditable to a man of ingenuous birth. See Ellendt, proleg in Cic. *Brut.* p. xv.

[2] Cic. *Ep. ad Titinium*, apud Sueton. *de Cl. Rhet.* 2.

by the censors. They were wont to go forth a few days' journey from their homes, and return at the close of a few weeks' campaign to take part in the elections or ceremonies of the city, and enjoy the sweets of domestic life. Originally the state had afforded her defenders no pay for a service demanded alike from all who could maintain themselves in the field by their own means. Occasions, indeed, had frequently occurred when the citizens had resisted the consul's summons, and refused to serve till their complaints were redressed by the senate; but when once enlisted and bound by their military oath, and still more their military training, their conduct had been as exemplary as their courage, and the Roman imperator had rarely had to contend against the mutinous spirit of his generous soldiery. But this admirable discipline seems to have been first broken down in the long series of years during which the legions were occupied in the conquest of Spain. Removed so long and so far from their own hearths and the associations connected with them, demoralized at the same time by the repeated licence to plunder, the vigorous exertions of Cato and Scipio Æmilianus could restore only for a moment a healthy tone of obedience in the camps of the conquerors.[1] Meanwhile, the rapid decrease of the middle class of citizens from which the soldiers of the republic were drafted, rendered the recruitment of the legions constantly more difficult. It was in vain that C. Gracchus, among the various measures of his tribunate for conciliating the favour of the commons, sought to bribe them to military service by making the state pay for their clothing. This was a great step, at least in principle, towards the conversion of the temporary service of the citizen into the establishment of a standing army. But the reform of Marius struck a deeper blow at the insti-

[1] Vell. ii. 5.; Florus, ii. 18.

tutions of the infant republic. He opened the ranks to all classes of citizens without pecuniary qualification.[1] Important as this change was, its necessity was so distinctly felt that it does not appear to have roused the decided opposition of the nobles. The *proletaries* of over-crowded Rome won the great victories over Jugurtha and the Cimbri; but the new recruit, without home and acres, wife and family, transferred to his leader the devotion he owed to the state. The camp and not the city became the centre of his dearest interests. The names of the senate and people by which he was sworn were speedily forgotten, but he loved his centurion and he worshipped his eagles. Military service now became the profession of a life; the manners and sentiments of the paid swordsman corresponded with his occupation; the legionary was known in the Suburra by his gait and language, as surely as by his arms and accoutrements. Whenever an expedition was announced which promised booty, such as those to the opulent regions of the east, the ranks of the army were crowded with volunteers, unprincipled and imperious; the veteran despised the reward of a few acres of land, and quitted his plough to buckle on his sword, at the call of a favourite commander.[2] He claimed as his own the spoils of the conquered enemy, and if baulked of his prey, refused to follow in the pursuit. A proconsul, such as Lucullus, who strove to temper the severities of war with clemency and moderation, was baffled by the mutinous spirit of his troops, and checked in the mid career of victory. The audacity of the private soldier was encouraged by the example of centurions and tribunes: the imperator found it, for the most part, easier and more profitable to give the rein to licence than to curb it. Meanwhile, the cohorts transplanted from the banks of the Tiber took root

[1] Sallust, *B. J.* 86.; Flor. iii. 1.; Val. Max. ii. 3. 1.
[2] Compare Liv. xxxix. 22.

on the margin of the Nile and the Orontes. The garrisons of the Syrian frontier were transferred, through a series of years, to the command of each successive proconsul. The troops which Gabinius carried into Egypt fixed their abodes there after his return to Rome.[1] The soldiers of the republic compared themselves with the regular battalions which guarded the thrones of Oriental monarchs; they envied the splendour of their equipments and the lavish profusion of their pay; above all, the honours rendered to them by nobles, and the fear they inspired in the people.

Corruption of the Roman generals.

In the healthier days of the commonwealth the senate had been described as an assembly of kings: in dignity and substantial power every member of that august order had deemed himself the equal or the superior of monarchs on their thrones. The consul who went forth from Rome at the head of his fellow-citizens to overthrow the dynasties of Greece and Asia, had returned to resume his place in the city with the proud simplicity of a private senator. But these antique virtues were rapidly corrupted by contact with the forms and shows of royalty. The series of years to which the proconsul's command became frequently extended, weaned him from his attachment to home, and accustomed him to pomp and power inconsistent with republican manners. Surrounded by officials whose fortunes depended on his favour, supported by a soldiery which acknowledged no law but his word, and fawned upon by courtiers and vassal potentates, he forgot the sentiments of his birth, and resigned himself to the charms of sovereignty. Sulla was fascinated, like the Spartan Pausanias, by the allurements of Asiatic pomp and the contagious example

[1] Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 110.; Duruy, *Hist. des Romains*, ii. 44. The vanquished legionaries of Crassus were content take up their abode in Parthia.

of despotism. Pompeius dreamed, in his Alban villa, of the guard of state and the robe of honour, and the silken canopies of Syria and Armenia. The East was the grave of many a great Roman virtue, and we have traced a change even in the character of Cæsar from the fatal seductions of the capital of Egypt.

Such was the general decay of principles and corruption of manners which marked the era of the foundation of the imperial government. It contained, indeed, elements both of good and evil, and the progress of this history will derive some of its chief interest from the attempt to discriminate between them. We have beheld a nation, still full of life, still instinct with energy, just arrived at the culminating point of its glories in the career most appropriate to its genius; the conquered world lies prostrate at its feet, and for a moment it seems to have achieved the second and greater triumph over its own passions. The task now lies before it of consolidating its acquisitions and imparting civilization to its subjects. In modern times all moral and political speculation is forward-looking, and is full of anticipations of new discoveries in happiness and knowledge. But the Roman statesman and philosophers, with their strong practical instincts, took no such comprehensive survey of the destinies of their race. Cicero's writings may, I believe, be searched in vain for a single expression of reliance on the progressive improvement of mankind. The two poles of his philosophy, between which he wavers with perpetual oscillation, are regret for the past and resignation to the present. Cæsar, while the unseasoned fabric of his own institutions was tottering around him, derived no consolation from belief in a providential government of the world. At the moment of launching his country, as faith might have fondly persuaded him, on a career of tranquil expansion and comprehensive culture, the founder of

Concluding remarks.

the empire closed his eyes to the future and shrank from even guessing at the end. The old beliefs of the primitive ages, which had done something at least to temper prosperity and sweeten the ills of life, had perished to a poisonous core in a shrivelled husk. The science of ethics was apparently exhausted. It had finished its career in blank disappointment, and there was no faith or courage to commence it afresh. Alexander wept on the margin of the eastern Ocean that there were no more lands to conquer; Cæsar, from the furthest bourn of philosophic speculation, may have confessed with a sigh that within the visible horizon of human intuitions there were no more provinces for reason to invade. The Great Disposer had yet another leaf to turn in the book of His manifold dispensations; but the rise and progress of a new religion, with vigour to control the jarring prejudices of nations and classes, asserting supernatural facts, and claiming divine authority, appealing with equal boldness on the one hand to history, on the other to conscience, shaping an outward creed, and revealing inward ideas, the law of the simple and the science of the wise, exalting obedience in the place of ambition, and expanding patriotism into philanthropy, was the last offspring of the womb of Time that Cæsar could have imagined, or Cicero have ventured to anticipate.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Proceedings upon the death of Cæsar.—The exploit of the liberators meets with no favour from the people.—Antonius unites with Lepidus, and obtains the Dictator's treasures and papers.—Pretended compromise and decree of amnesty.—Cæsar's acts are ratified and his will disclosed.—Public obsequies decreed him.—Antonius delivers the funeral harangue, which inflames the people against the liberators, and creates a tumult, in which they are compelled to conceal themselves. (A.U. 710. B.C. 44.)

Consternation of the citizens on the death of Cæsar.

The struggle was over, Cæsar had ceased to breathe, and for a moment the eyes of his assassins encountered each other across his body. When they looked around them, the hall was already vacant. The senators had fled with precipitation; centurions, lictors, and attendants, who had accompanied the dictator within the precincts of the curia, had vanished from the scene[1], and the harangue which Brutus was about to utter commanded no listeners. Antonius, whose detention at the door gave him the fairest opportunity of escape, had slipped through the crowd, exchanged clothes with a slave or client, and made his way unperceived to his house in the Carinæ. *Fly, shut your doors, fly!* was the cry of the panic-stricken senators[2]; for none could tell where the next blow of the assassins might fall, or what movement their deed might excite among the murdered man's adherents. Both parties had arms within reach. On the one hand Decimus Brutus had provided for his friends' defence by stationing a body of gladiators in the Pompeian theatre hard by,

[1] Cicero (*de Divin.* ii. 9.) speaks of Cæsar as killed, "tot centurionibus suis inspectantibus." We must allow for some rhetorical amplification in this description.

[2] Dion, xliv. 20.: Βοῶντες, φεῦγε, κλεῖε, φεῦγε, κλεῖε.

where the populace was already assembling to witness the shows of the arena: on the other the city was filled with the dictator's veterans, who had mustered there in unknown numbers, some to accompany him in his projected expedition, some to pay him the last honours on the eve of his departure, more, perhaps, from mere restlessness and licentious idleness. The feelings of the populace itself were unexplored: during Cæsar's short tenure of power it had wavered with more than usual capriciousness: none could guess how far the ramifications of the conspiracy had spread, which was seen to comprise members of factions so widely different. Lepidus, the master of the horse, now just about to assume his provincial government in Gaul and Spain, was hovering outside the walls completing his military preparations. Forbidden by his imperium from entering the gates, he had not been prevented from attending the meeting of the senate beyond them, and was probably a witness of the deed which had thrown Rome into consternation. At this crisis he was not wanting in energy. He had one legion quartered in the island of the Tiber, a force sufficient, perhaps, in the general confusion, to seize the command of the city. To this force he immediately repaired. In the first moment of suspense he crossed over into the Campus Martius, and despatched to Antonius an assurance of support.[1]

The liberators proceed to the forum, and Brutus harangues the people.

The affright of the senators soon communicated itself to the populace, and spread through every part of the city. Confusion and tumult reigned far and wide; houses were entered and violence committed; according to some accounts even blood was shed.[2] The

[1] Appian, *Bell. Civ* ii. 118.

[2] Appian, *l. c.* If blood was shed it was probably the work of thieves and plunderers. Decimus had his gladiators well in hand,

swordsmen of Decimus occupied the deserted places of the fathers, and the assassins gladly availed themselves of this support, while they marched forth from the senate-house brandishing in their right hands their bloody daggers, and wrapping their togas about their left arms, for defence against a sudden attack. They reached the forum preceded by a cap of liberty hoisted on a spear, exclaiming that they had killed a king and a tyrant.[1] Having gained the rostra, Brutus proceeded to deliver a studied harangue, destined, as he conceived, to secure the applause of his countrymen. But the tumult drowned his words: the conspirators exerted themselves to express by gestures the assurance that justice was satisfied, that no more blood should be shed; and their leader invoked amid the din the name of Cicero, as the strongest pledge, perhaps, of their peaceful intentions. The orator flattered himself that they addressed him as the *father of his country*; but Antonius dared afterwards to affirm that they claimed him as an accomplice.[2]

Failing to make an impression, they repair to the Capitol.

The consternation with which the senators had dispersed at the moment of the murder, might have revealed to the conspirators with how little favour their deed would be entertained by them. At the same time it displayed not less clearly to the mass of the citizens, that the assassination was the wild stroke of revenge or rivalry, and not the judicial act of legitimate authority. The appeal now made to the people was utterly abortive. The populace gazed upon the blood-stained crew with wonder and alarm, but in

and would have allowed them no such excesses as this writer intimates. Appian's account of these transactions is connected and graphic, but it is not always supported by the other authorities.

[1] On a coin of Brutus we read lib. P. R. restitu., with a cap of liberty (pileus) between two daggers. (Eckhel, vi. 24.) The symbol of the pileus was used sometimes by the later emperors.

[2] Cic. *Philipp.* ii. 12.; Dion, *l. c.*; Appian, ii. 119.

the frenzy of its excitement could neither be reasoned with nor commanded. Frustrated in their first vague anticipations the assassins had no ulterior plan or policy. But every minute was precious. Under pretence of offering their vows in the temple of Jupiter, they ascended the Capitoline, now occupied by their handful of armed satellites, and thus took possession of the heights, imperfectly fortified, which crowned the forum. Undoubtedly this spirited movement is to be ascribed to Decimus, the master of the gladiators, the coolest and most self-possessed among them. This retreat saved them from collision with the armed force of Lepidus, which occupied the forum in the course of the following night.[1]

The body of Cæsar is carried to his mansion.

Meanwhile, the curia was abandoned by the living, and the marble effigy of Pompeius looked mutely down upon the prostrate corpse of his mighty rival. The assassins had proposed, at first, to treat the body with the formal indignities due to chastised traitors, and drag it ignominiously to the Tiber; but they soon became aware that their own position was too precarious to indulge in an act which might provoke popular indignation, and all their care was directed to providing for their own safety. During the first hours which followed, only a few curious eyes intruded upon the melancholy scene: at last, three of the murdered man's attendants summoned courage to enter the hall, and removed the body, stretched upon a litter imperfectly supported at three corners, while one arm hung unheeded over its side.[2] Whether this was done in the darkness of the night, or whether the people had shrunk at mid-day into their houses,

[1] Besides the authorities above cited, the reader may consult Livy, Epit. cxvii, Plutarch in the contemporary lives, Florus, Velleius, &c. There is some confusion among them as to the order of the events which follow, but Drumann has succeeded in unravelling it.

[2] Appian, *l. c.* says, with graphic conciseness, ἀνωμάλως οἷα τρεῖς.

no sensation, it appears, was created by the passage of this limping pageant to the pontifical mansion in the forum. When the conspirators withdrew to the Capitol quiet was gradually restored; it was affirmed that they had abjured, from the first, the extension of their vengeance even to the immediate adherents of their victim. Some of them, it must be allowed, had urged, as a necessary precaution, the massacre of Antonius also; but Brutus, consistent in the principles which he brought to his crime, had forbidden an act which might seem to stain with a trace of human passion the purity of their sublime sacrifice. The philosopher was, probably, single-minded in this self-restraint: his companions were, perhaps, the more easily persuaded to acquiesce in it, from the current suspicion that Antonius was no sincere friend to Cæsar, who had personally offended him, and by whose superiority he was galled.[1]

The conspirators deliberate in the Capitol and are joined by Cicero and other nobles

Their leader's moderation was, indeed, neither felt nor understood by the greater part of the selfish crew who had placed their enterprise under his direction. But from the first, perhaps, they were too well aware of their real weakness, and of the isolation in which they stood, to propose following up the projected murder of the chief with the proscription of his adherents. If they examined the private motives by which they were personally influenced, they cannot but have been convinced that the murmurs against the usurper

[1] There may have been sufficient grounds for this suspicion at the time; nevertheless it should be observed that Antonius's subsequent conduct gave no colour to it. There is at least no known authority for the charge of ingratitude brought against him by Seneca (*de Benef.* v. 16.), "Ingratus Antonius in dictatorem suum, quem jure cæsum pronuntiavit." We learn from the recently discovered fragment of Nicolaus of Damascus (ci. 36.), that some of Cæsar's friends expressed themselves well pleased at his destruction: *ἅλις τυράννου θεραπείας*, was the remark of one of them.

which they heard or uttered were the offspring, for the most part, of malice, jealousy, and pique: there existed no general indignation against him, no rancorous sense of injury which alone might avail to sanction measures of vengeance against his followers. For the sake of their own safety, therefore, they paltered with the treason, and temporized with the men whom they denounced as enemies of the state. The policy of Brutus was, in fact, the most prudent, as well as the most merciful. The slaughter of Antonius at that moment would, indeed, have cut off the man who was destined eventually to crush the last struggles of the expiring oligarchy; nevertheless, the respect now paid to his life undoubtedly averted a violent and sweeping revolution from the fury of the exasperated Cæsareans. It gave the commonwealth at least time to breathe, to collect its energies, to concert its measures, and defend itself in fair battle on an open field. It is not the less clear, however, that the conspirators, in adopting their leader's counsel, miscalculated the effect of their bloody stroke. Cowering behind the ramparts of the Capitol, they awaited with anxious forebodings the tardy muster of their political friends. But the chiefs of the old republic had retreated from the impending storm, and the day passed without an outbreak before they ventured to issue from their concealment and brave its perils. Of those who now presented themselves before the closed gates of the citadel of freedom, one of the first was Cicero himself, who, though he had shrunk from answering the call of Brutus in the forum, had speedily recovered his courage, and now evinced a generous alacrity in enlisting on the side which alone assumed an attitude of authority. One by one, as the shades of evening fell, the timid nobles mounted the Capitoline, and introduced themselves to the confederates assembled in feverish debate. Among the new comers

were Lentulus Spinther, son of the late consular, Favonius, the *shadow* of the sturdy Cato, M. Aquinus, Octavius Balbus, a Murcus, a Patiscus, and others. It is mournful to recollect, in tracing these obscure names, how many victims the civil war had made, and how few of the great contemporaries of the triumvirs remained to sustain the republic, now tottering to its last fall. The deliberations of the evening were suspended by the hasty greetings which intervened. The new adherents of the cause were anxious to claim, by the loudness of their approbation, a share in the merit of the deed already accomplished; and Cicero himself, we must believe, was not ashamed to lament the scruples which had denied him initiation in the plot. But the liberators, who looked to the events of the moment to direct their course, were still tardy and unprepared. Cicero might fairly claim, from his reputed wisdom and experience, to be their adviser. He urged Brutus and Cassius to convene the senate as prætors, in the absence of the consuls, and assume the reins of government. What further plan or policy he suggested to them does not appear: at a later period, indeed, he lamented the inactivity which prevailed in their councils, and sighed over the lost opportunity, when, as he averred, the spirits of the patriots were elated, and the brigands, as he called the Cæsareans, were broken and dismayed. If the remnant of the senators then mustered in the Capitol had decreed themselves a legitimate assembly of the order, and fulminated a decree to annul the acts of the dictator, such a step would, at least, have been bold and decisive; and, could Cicero have claimed the merit of having urged it, there were many subsequent occasions on which he would not have failed to do so. But he intimates neither that nor any other advice as having emanated from his mouth; and we are compelled to conjecture that

his counsel extended only to calling the senate together, and leaving the future conduct of affairs to the course which chance and circumstances might dictate.

So much, however, at least is probable, that Cicero saw, what Brutus and his associates were for the most part blind to, the folly of negotiating with Antonius and the Cæsareans.

Mistaken views of Brutus and his associates.

The most reflecting of Roman statesmen was well assured that the assasination of the usurper had opened, and not closed, the question how the state was to be governed: he felt that the party of the tyrant, if not absolutely proscribed and massacred, must, at least, be excluded from all share in public affairs. But he was fatally mistaken if he dreamed that the senate's authority could avail to re-establish legitimate order; nor did he fairly estimate the passions of the multitude, the fury of the veterans, the cupidity of the legionaries, and the general love and admiration which invested with a halo of glory the body of the slaughtered hero. The man of words and principles could not comprehend the melancholy truth that the republic could only be saved by gold and iron, by buying the consent of the populace, and the support of the soldiery. Brutus, indeed, still more widely erring, clung to the hope that Antonius might be converted to the generous views which he, perhaps, alone ascribed to his own associates. He trusted that Cæsar's followers had been deceived as to his real intentions; that they had attached themselves to him as the proscribed and injured candidate for legitimate advancement, not as the deliberate assailant of his country's laws: he fancied that the full conviction of his treason against the state would produce tardy repentance; at least he conceived that the ambition of Antonius would be satisfied by leading, as consul, the movement of law and freedom which the liberators had commenced. Accordingly,

Brutus urged Cicero to become the organ of communication with the fugitive; but the orator declined the commission, declaring that it was useless, and fearing, perhaps, that it would be personally dangerous. For Antonius, shut up in his private dwelling, had doubtless surrounded himself with troops of Cæsarean veterans, furious men, who might little care to distinguish between an actor in the hateful tragedy, and an instrument of the actors.

During the night of the 15th-16th, Antonius had not been idle. In his concealment, he had obtained information both of the movements of the liberators, and of the attitude assumed by Lepidus. He had to secure himself against the anticipated violence of the one party, and at the same time to watch his opportunity for cajoling the other. For Lepidus, at the head of the only regular force then at hand, had now entered the forum, abandoned by the liberators; and though he kept up communication with Antonius, was actually in a position to overawe the powers of the state, and, independent both of consuls and senate, assume the fallen reins of government. The bereaved Calpurnia received her husband's body from the hands of his faithful attendants, and while she was yet unassured as to her own safety, she determined to secure the most valuable of his effects and documents. From her mansion overlooking the forum she beheld the night encampment of Lepidus; but Antonius had already obtained her confidence. In the course of the night she contrived to remove treasure to the amount of four thousand talents to the consul's dwelling, and therewith another deposit, which became of still greater importance to him. the private papers of the deceased. Possessed of these instruments, among which was the testament and other memorials of the dictator's views, Antonius felt at once the vantage ground on which

Proceedings of Antonius during the night of the 15th-16th.

He obtains the treasures and papers of Cæsar,

he stood, and conceived a deep scheme for securing efficient support to his own pretensions. As soon as he perceived that the liberators shrank from following up their first blow with reiterated violence, he awaited with confidence the overtures which they were preparing to address to him. At the same time he proceeded to assail the only rival for the favour of the Cæsareans who had yet appeared upon the scene, with offers calculated to shake the bold attitude he had so suddenly assumed. Antonius was well aware that with Lepidus the fever of ambition was but a momentary excitement. His natural indolence would soon prompt him, upon reflection, to embrace the offer of a second place, rather than aspire to the hazardous preeminence of the first. The consul proposed at once to secure for him the succession to the high priesthood, vacant by Cæsar's death; at the same time he opened negotiations with him for an alliance between the son of the one and the daughter of the other. While the liberators were still hesitating as to their course, and pondering the aimless harangues of their recent associate, Antonius and Lepidus were coming rapidly to a mutual understanding, and the only power in Rome was on the point of placing itself at the disposal of the only will capable of directing it.

and effects a combination with Lepidus.

The liberators could hardly venture to remain, though unassailed, in a position which retained only the tradition of defensibility, while every moment of their absence from the centre of affairs tended to consolidate the means of attack upon it. The citizens, they hoped, after one night of reflection, would be better disposed to listen to them: the moderation of their views had been tested, they conceived, in the hour of victory, by their voluntary renunciation of ulterior vengeance. They were anxious to make a second appeal to the people

On the 16th the liberators resolve to appeal again to the people.

in the forum; if they met with a favourable reception there, they might require the doors of the curia to be thrown open to them, and invite the consul, together with the rest of the senators, to join with those members of their order who had already sanctioned the tyrant's overthrow. Some of their body had already despatched emissaries to procure a few venal voices, and get a cry raised for peace and mutual reconciliation.[1] It was politic to seem to accord to their enemies the protection which, in fact, they were anxious to obtain for themselves. This cry was not ill-received; but the attempt to extort from the multitude an expression of approbation towards the assassins themselves met with total failure: any slur cast on the memory of the murdered man was fiercely resented. When Cornelius Cinna, one of the prætors, a kinsman of the dictator, came forward and threw aside the ensigns of his office, which he had obtained from the hands of one whom he now denounced as a tyrant, the people hooted him as a traitor and apostate. At this juncture, however, Dolabella came to the aid of the desponding faction: he had been promised the succession to the consulship which Cæsar was about to resign. Conscious of the enmity of Antonius, he threw himself on the opposite side, and sought to secure the prize by conferring a signal service on the murderers of his patron: he freely declared that he had been privy to their design, and claimed, with voluble pertinacity, a share in their honours and dangers, as an associate who had only been prevented by accident from assisting in their exploit. He had the audacity, as some asserted, to propose that the anniversary of the murder should be celebrated as the *birthday* of the commonwealth. The hired clamourers were encouraged by this demonstration to raise their voices again, and call upon the

Dolabella sides with them.

[1] Appian, *B. C.* ii. 121.

liberators to descend. They, on their part, were delighted to have the countenance of a consul (for Dolabella came abroad with the ensigns of the office which he claimed), and forgot that in accepting it they affixed their sanction to one of the tyrant's most irregular acts. It would have been well indeed for them, if, being once compromised in this way, they had accepted the pretender's services as freely as they were proffered, and placed him openly at their head, to exert in their behalf his well-tried abilities as a mob-orator and unscrupulous partisan. But, while they admitted him as an associate, they were ashamed to follow as a leader one of the most notorious creatures of the usurper.

The star of Brutus was still in the ascendant. The confederates still childishly confided in the charm of his ancestral name, and imagined that the dregs of the Roman populace, which lived upon largesses, could be animated with a simple love of constitutional freedom. Upon this point the moneyed middle class also, which had supported and profited by Cæsar's financial arrangements, had already expressed itself supremely indifferent. The city, moreover, was crowded, as we have seen, with veterans from the country, great numbers of whom, weary of the retirement of their distant farms, had quitted their allotments and flocked into Rome to enlist in some new enterprise more congenial to their restless spirits. They thronged the steps of the temples, the forums and other public places, ready to sell themselves to any adventurer, and quite insensible to the specious abstractions of freedom, patriotism, and justice.[1]

Brutus harangues the populace in the forum. From such an audience the reasonings of the liberators were little likely to receive intelligent consideration. Brutus himself, indeed, was listened to with respect: he was allowed

[1] Appian, *B. C.* ii. 122.

to assume a tone of lofty defiance towards the slaughtered usurper, to extol the courage and magnanimity of his associates, and even to thank Decimus in the name of the state for the opportune support of his band of gladiators. He likened the deed of the confederates to the expulsion of the Tarquins by his own ancestor: but on that occasion, he remarked, the discarded sovereign was at least a legitimate possessor of his throne, on this the victim of a righteous indignation was not only a tyrant, but an usurper. He proceeded to claim the favour of the citizens in behalf of Sextus Pompeius, in the unequal struggle he was yet waging for Roman freedom against the Cæsarean lieutenants; and he demanded, at the same time, the recall of Cæsetius and Marullus, the bold defenders of the republic, who had been banished at the dictator's instigation.

He is coldly received, and returns with his associates to the Capitol.

These appeals were rash and ill-timed. They met with no favourable response from the populace. The conspirators returned crest-fallen to the Capitol. The mouldering citadel of the infant republic was not tenable against a regular force, and the nobles, who had resorted thither in the first moments of suspense, now abandoned it for the most part, and repaired, one by one, either to their own homes, or to the quarters of Antonius himself.[1] It was now ascertained, beyond a doubt, that the deed of deliverance was not popular among the citizens. Even their full assurance of Cæsar's resolve to keep the power he had grasped, and throw disguise to the winds, had failed to shake the favour with which his countrymen regarded him. Usurpation had ceased to be regarded with horror, and the empty seat of the usurper only invited some new aspirant. The night which followed was passed in anxious preparations on all sides. Antonius never

[1] Plutarch (*Brut.* 18.) pretends that Brutus sent them away that their safety might not be compromised.

faltered for a moment. As consul he could unlock the doors of the public treasury[1]; and in the temple of Ops he found hoards accumulated by Cæsar to the amount of seven hundred millions of sesterces.[2]

Antonius seizes the public treasure, and, at the request of the liberators, convenes a meeting of the senate.

With these unrivalled resources in his hands, he might already deem himself master of the Roman world. He caused the city to be illuminated with torches and balefires, and required the magistrates to repair to their posts, and to transact business as if it had been broad day.[3] The liberators now sent a deputation to confer with him, and solicited him, in a humbled self-excusing tone, to summon the senate, offering to submit their deed to its deliberate judgment. At the same time those among Cæsar's adherents who were most nearly interested in the event, the veterans, namely, in the city, who had received from him lands or [illegible], were anxiously bestirring themselves. Apprehensive of a decision which should reverse their patron's acts, they sent trusty agents from house to house, to menace the senators with prompt vengeance, if they dared to tamper with their rights. The senators, however much a large portion of them might incline to favour the liberators, were alarmed by this movement, and Antonius soon learnt that he might safely convene them, and trust to his own address to overreach the few whom the prospect of military violence should fail to terrify. Thus, everything combined to render the consul master of the crisis. Instead of directing the senate to assemble in the curia at the foot of the Capitoline, where the armed band of Decimus might

[1] Besides being consul himself, Antonius had one brother, Caius, prætor, and another, Lucius, tribune of the people.

[2] Cicero (*Philipp.* ii. 37.) refers to the official documents from which this sum was known to have been deposited there. The orator calls it *funesta pecunia*, insinuating that it was amassed by confiscation and rapine.

[3] Appian, *B.C.* ii. 125.

overawe its deliberations, he summoned it to meet him in the temple of Tellus, close to the house of Pompeius which he himself occupied in the Carinæ.

Anxious and bewildered, the great council of the commonwealth met accordingly before daybreak on the morning of the 17th, the festival of the Liberalia. Numerous as the members were who owed their seats to Cæsar's mere appointment, alien as they were in blood, and attached, as might be presumed, by every interest to the cause of their original patron, yet their natural bias had so far yielded to the spirit of class and the influence of oligarchic associations, that the liberators presumed they might appeal not without confidence even to their decision. Emissaries of the tyrannicides also had been at work through the night, visiting from door to door, and claiming the suffrages of the timid and reluctant by every argument of menace or persuasion. At an early hour Cornelius Cinna repaired to the curia in the prætor's robes, which he had so lately affected to discard. Being recognised by the multitude, he was maltreated, and narrowly escaped being torn in pieces. He was driven into a neighbouring house, and the mob would have wreaked their vengeance upon him by setting it on fire, had he not been saved by a detachment of Lepidus's soldiers. This violence was significant. It alarmed the senators, and gave the conspirators the first practical intimation of their peril. Had it been directly contrived, as was perhaps the case, by their disguised enemy himself, it could not have answered the purpose better. For hitherto the consul had abstained from intruding an armed force into the presence of the assembly; he now suffered Lepidus to bring his cohorts to the spot, and surround the deliberating senate with rows of drawn swords. The aggression of Pompeius at Milo's trial

Meeting of the senate on the 17th.

The prætor Cinna is maltreated by the populace.

was thus turned against the avengers of his fall. Moreover the badge of office assumed by Cinna indicated that Cæsar's creatures were not disposed to surrender, without a struggle, the advantages they enjoyed by his appointment; and, further, that they had now recovered the hope of retaining them, of which, the day before, they seemed to despair. Now, too, Dolabella arrived with the consular fasces: the liberators, as we have seen, had committed themselves to the support of his claim, and Antonius, who saw their error in a moment, took care to offer no opposition to it. The nobles fell headlong into the trap. They regarded the conciliatory demeanour of the consul towards the bitterest of his enemies as the strongest proof of his wish for a peaceful compromise; and, in discussing the terms of agreement between them, they relied upon Cicero's eloquence or adroitness, which had so often proved effectual in convincing or cajoling the statesmen of the republic.

The discussion discloses the powerful interests opposed to any condemnation of Cæsar's acts.

The boldest of the conspirators' friends now insisted that they should be invited, with an assurance of personal safety, to attend the meeting, and mingle their own suffrages with those of their order; thus elevating them at once from the position of criminals or at least defendants, to sit in judgment upon the merits of their own deed. Nor did Antonius think fit to resist this claim: he was well assured that the persons in whose behalf it was urged would not venture to quit their asylum; nor did they. Some, however, of the senators, ascribing his concession to weakness, took courage openly to applaud the exploit, to hail the liberators by the popular name of tyrannicides, and demand a public reward for their generous self-devotion. But purer patriots again, or sterner moralists, here interposed, and argued that to reward their virtue would detract from its sublime simplicity: the meetest re-

compense of such a deed, they urged, would be the consciousness of its magnanimity. Such persons insisted that the public approbation should be signified only by an act of solemn thanksgiving to the gods. Gradually, as more voices and conflicting passions joined in the discussion, the merits of the actors themselves were less delicately handled. The language of applause grew more cold and measured; the views, tempers, and characters of the conspirators were canvassed with greater severity. The assembly, swayed this way and that by successive speakers, found the task of shaping the phrase with which the stroke should be duly qualified more and more arduous. The best and purest among them shrank from the deed all the while with disgust, and only voted for sparing its guilty perpetrators in consideration for their rank and birth: the idea of rewarding them as public benefactors they spurned with horror.[1] Antonius watched the eddying currents of opinion with secret satisfaction. As the progress of discussion cleared away the mists of passion and prejudice, it could not fail to become apparent how directly any condemnation of Cæsar as a tyrant must lead to the reversal of his acts and cancelling of his appointments. Too many in the assembly were interested in his disposition of honours and offices to pass any decree which should invalidate their right to them. Not only the actual magistracies of the current year were imperilled, but those of several years to come. Many of the persons to whose lot they had fallen were in fact by reason of their youth, or from other disqualifications, legally incompetent to enjoy them. Dolabella himself had never served the prætorship, nor had he attained the age requisite for the consulate. The restoration of the ancient customs of

[1] Appian, *B. C.* ii. 126.

the republic would prove immediately fatal to these pretensions. It was not the destruction of the usurper, but the condemnation of his policy, that would constitute the principle of the counter-revolution. To avert this result, a thousand interests were ready to start up in arms. At the first moment they might have been crushed, silent and unresisting; but a few hours of reflection and debate had sufficed to give them expression, and to nerve them with resolution. They were already strong enough to clog the hostile votes of the dictator's foes, to invite conciliation, and to defy violence.

Antonius employs the people in the forum to overawe the senate.

While, however, the debate was still in progress, and while many who were personally hostile to Cæsar were anxious to discover a middle course, by which his usurpation might be denounced, while at the same time his distribution of places should be respected, the consul took measures to hasten the decision by a cry from without. The populace in the forum were impatiently awaiting the result of the discussion. A message arrived requiring the immediate presence of Antonius to soothe them. Accordingly he quitted the curia, taking Lepidus with him, and presented himself to the people. A voice was raised, warning him to beware of the daggers of the nobles. He threw open the folds of his toga, and revealed a glittering breastplate beneath it; thus declaring that he was both aware of his danger, and prepared to repel it.[1] The veterans dispersed among the multitude, and distinguished by their proud gestures and licentious cries, thus reminded of the bloody deed by which their chief had fallen, shouted aloud for vengeance: but these exclamations were answered, and perhaps overwhelmed, by still more general cries for peace and conciliation. Antonius replied that peace was indeed

[1] Appian, *B.C.* ii. 130.

the object of the senate's deliberations: *but how*, he added, *can we hope to secure it, since the most solemn oaths have failed to preserve the life of the murdered Cæsar*. To those who called for vengeance, he expressed himself still more boldly: he applauded their zeal for their late favourite, and declared his readiness to put himself at their head, and enforce their demand: but as consul, he urged, it was his duty to attend upon the proceedings of the senate, to act as the instrument of its decisions, and execute its decrees for the common weal. *And this*, he added with a sigh, *was what Cæsar himself was wont to do: he postponed his own personal satisfaction to the service of the state: and behold how he has been requited!* While the people were hanging on his words with breathless interest, Antonius abruptly left the forum, and hastened back to the curia, where his return was anxiously awaited. Meanwhile Lepidus, who remained behind, as was doubtless concerted between them, was invited to ascend the rostra, and explain to the multitude in a set speech the course he was prepared to maintain. His counsels, like those of his associate, were calm but resolute: he persisted in dissuading violence, while he acknowledged the ample provocation: to the demand for peace and conciliation, which meant the confirmation of Cæsar's acts, and the virtual condemnation of the murder, he bowed with affected acquiescence, though taking care to insinuate that peace could have no firm guarantee while treason stalked abroad with unsheathed dagger. The populace, tutored perhaps, or bribed for the purpose, offered him the high priesthood by acclamation. The will of the people was thus distinctly signified. They demanded peace; but they mourned for Cæsar; they abhorred his assassins, they wished to honour him in the persons of his friends and associates, and to maintain, out of respect for his memory, the dispositions he had

made. Such was precisely the course Antonius desired to recommend, and he could now vaunt to the senate that his influence had been successful in quelling the fury of the Cæsareans, and diverting them from a bloody revenge.

Antonius urges the senate to ratify Cæsar's acts and confirm his appointments.

When he again raised his voice in the distracted assembly the consciousness of the service he had thus performed gave additional weight to his persuasions. Dolabella had pleaded earnestly for the ratification of Cæsar's appointments, in which none were more directly interested than himself. It was not the appointment of magistrates only, added Antonius, that was imperilled by a proposal to justify the murder or to reward its perpetrators; the whole course of Cæsar's legislation and policy was exposed to reversal by a decree which should declare his supremacy an illegal usurpation. The rights which he had extended to the subjects of the republic, the franchise he had bestowed upon cities and nations, the colonies he had founded, the lands he had distributed, the adjustment he had made of debts and liabilities, the whole substance of the legislation of the last five years, trembled in the balance; and could the senate, distracted and divided as it was, dare to provoke the consequences of such a wholesale nullification? This would be indeed to commence a revolution, and where was the power which could control its progress?

Cicero advocates the same policy.

All this was ably represented by Antonius. He urged the senate to pass over the fatal deed in total silence, and leave the acts of the dictator as it found them, valid and unquestioned. By this time the great majority of the assembly had come to the conclusion that this course was the safest and wisest; and they left the exploit of the liberators, with little compunction, to the judgment of posterity, while they shrank from pronouncing upon it any sentence of their own.

Cicero followed the consul, and pleaded in behalf of the same specious policy. *What said Cicero? . . . he talked Greek.*[1] He adorned his eloquence with the phrases he had read in the history of Athenian revolutions, of amnesty or oblivion. *Let the past,* he said, *be forgotten, and let every man go free and unquestioned for his share in it.*[2] The deed was done, and it was useless to discuss its merits; but the solemn sanction which it had been proposed to confer upon it would involve the innocent with the guilty: justice and policy demanded that the matter should now be hushed up, a general amnesty proclaimed, a decree not of pardon, not of mercy, not even of toleration, but simply of oblivion. Such was the advice of Cicero in his place among the fathers: in private he had declared himself in the strongest terms in approval of the tyrannicide: the note which he addressed to Basilus must have been well known, and its sentiments had doubtless been reiterated and enforced upon others. *I congratulate you,* he had written, *I rejoice in you, I love you, I make your cause my own; give me your love and confidence, and let me know all you are doing and proposing.*[3] But while such was the feeling he expressed at the time, and continued long after to vaunt on all public occasions, he confessed that the peace of the city and the last faint chance of senatorial ascendancy required a compromise with the enemy; nor at a later period, when he found how grossly he had deceived himself in the hope of its success, did he regret the conciliatory policy which he had then recommended.

[1] Shakspeare, *Julius Cæsar.*

[2] Cic. *Philipp.* i. 1. (comp. Plutarch, *Cic.* 42., Dion, xliv. 23—33. Vell. ii. 58.): "Atheniensium renovavi vetus exemplum; Græcum enim verbum usurpavi, quo tum in sedandis discordiis usa erat civitas illa; atque omnem memoriam discordiarum oblivione sempiterna delendam censui." The ἀμνηστία was proclaimed at Athens upon the overthrow of the thirty tyrants. Val. Max. iv. 1. 4.

[3] Cic. *ad Div.* vi. 15.

Undoubtedly the rash act of the liberators had brought matters to such a pass that any bolder counsel was full of manifold peril. If the senate had resolved to extol and justify the murder, it must have been prepared to proscribe all Cæsar's adherents, and defy them at once to arms. For this the patriots had neither the strength nor the courage. The gladiators of Decimus in the Capitol might be supported indeed in a few days' time by the regular troops which, as proconsul of Gaul, awaited his orders in the Cisalpine province. The wealthy nobles might arm, moreover, their retainers, and, as in the days of Clodius and Milo, fill the streets with their paid adherents. But the legion of Lepidus already occupied the forum, the veterans assembled in the city were determined to maintain their personal interests, and the favour of the urban populace was backed by the well-known inclination of the great mass of the provincial population. A struggle protracted in the heart of the empire for a few days only would speedily be decided by the armies assembled on the coast of Epirus, commanded by the best of the dictator's officers, and already glowing with admiration for the presumed heir of his fortunes. With Antonius, or even Lepidus at their head, they would array themselves on the side of formal authority; and among the patriots there was none, perhaps, at that moment with spirit and resolution enough directly to oppose even the shadow of legitimate power. A Scipio, a Domitius, a young Pompeius, might have ventured to rise above this abject subjection to mere form and prescription; but the greatest men of the party had all perished. Of the whole number of the conspirators, if Decimus was the coolest intriguer, Cassius alone, perhaps, had the talents of a statesman or a general. Had his rank been higher, and his superiority over his associates more freely admitted, he might have released

This was the safest course for the liberators to accede to.

himself at this moment from the superstitious deference which his friends continued to pay to the empty names of consul and imperator. But he was overawed, partly by the consciousness of the comparative obscurity of his name and lineage, partly no doubt by the ascendancy which Brutus exercised over his companions.

All this Cicero may have considered, and probably it confirmed him in the policy of conciliation and compromise to which he was naturally inclined, and from which he had swerved once only in the course of his career, when he gave the fatal order for the destruction of Catilina's associates. The persecution with which that bold act had been visited had impressed him with deep aversion to abrupt and violent acts of state craft. He would have been the last to counsel the desperate stroke of the tyrannicide: once accomplished he accepted and strove to justify it for the sake of peace; but he shrank from carrying it out to its consequences, and erecting upon it the edifice of a counter-revolution. But assuredly he was not deceived. The tyrant was dead, but the tyranny, he well knew, survived. The tyrant was overthrown, but his friend and chief adviser, the man second only to himself in all the qualities required for perpetuating it, remained possessed of the highest office in the state. Antonius had entered upon the political inheritance of the mighty dead. And now by this act of amnesty he seemed to be confirmed in this fearful pre-eminence; the inheritance was, as it were, formally secured to him. The silence of the fathers on the murder of Cæsar was deeply significant. It served to brand the tyrannicide as an useless crime, as at best the gratification of a morbid sentiment, not the just assertion of a principle. Whatever may be thought of the difficulties in which the senate was plunged by the rash violence of the Ides of March, it is clear that

Nevertheless it secured power to Antonius.

the specious compromise of the Liberalia riveted upon it the chains it most feared and execrated.

An amnesty decreed by the senate.

The senate decreed that no inquiry should be made into Cæsar's assassination, and that all his enactments and dispositions should remain valid, *for the sake of peace.*[1] But in vain did the patriots shrink from their principles under cover of this plausible phrase. Few even within the walls of the temple really anticipated peace as the result of this decision. The fury of the veterans might be appeased for a moment; but the disposition of the distant legions had not yet been signified; the attitude of the young Octavius could only be guessed; the provinces had not yet learned the fate of their only benefactor. Matius could prophesy an immediate explosion in the north, and menace the affrighted Cicero with a *Gallic tumult*, a general uprising of the nations beyond the Po.[2] The veterans, at the same time, restless and dissatisfied with themselves for the readiness with which they had accepted the proffered compromise, threatened to break out into violence on any sudden cause of excitement. Such an occasion was close at hand.

Piso demands a public funeral for Cæsar.

The timidity manifested by the patriots emboldened Calpurnius Piso, the dictator's father-in-law, to request the senate to sanction a public funeral in his honour. He demanded also that the provisions of his testament should be divulged. The fatal consequences which might ensue from a public spectacle at such a moment and for such an object, were generally foreseen and feared. Atticus, a shrewd observer, whispered to Cicero: *permit the funeral and all is lost.*[3] But Antonius, for this very reason, was

[1] Cic. *Philipp.* ii. 39.: "pacis causa." Comp. Appian, *B. C.* ii. 135.
[2] Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 1.: "Matius affirmat . . . minus xx. diebus tumultum Gallicum." xiv. 4.: "Vereor Gallica etiam bella."
[3] Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 10.

urgent in seconding the demand. He was not without a motive indeed for wishing the will to be kept secret; for he wanted to spend the money, and give no account of it. But among the senators were doubtless many who hoped to find themselves remembered in the testament of their gracious chief; and while they advocated its publication for their own private interests, the consul was content to surrender one advantage for the prospect which he clearly foresaw of another. Accordingly the fatal decree was issued, that the body should be honoured with magnificent obsequies, and solemnly reduced to ashes in the Field of Mars.[1]

Brutus harangues the people with a conciliatory speech.

While these discussions were in progress, Brutus and Cassius had summoned the people to the Capitol, to plead before them the cause of the republic in accents which the aspect of affairs seemed now to demand. The audience was less interested in the conspirators' self-justification than in their renunciation of ulterior views to the prejudice of their victim's act and promises. Brutus guaranteed to the veterans, in the name of his associates, the lands already assigned them. He gave an additional pledge for their peaceful possession, by undertaking to obtain for their recent occupants compensation from the public treasury. This reward, he declared, was rightfully theirs. They had served the state faithfully in Gaul and Britain: their later and less loyal acts he was willing to ascribe to their imperator alone, to whom they had been bound by the military oath. It had been customary, in bestowing estates upon the veterans, to impose a condition that they should not be sold again within a term of twenty years; they were meant not only to reward the soldier, but to confine him to the spot, and keep him quiet. From this restriction Brutus

[1] Suet. *Jul.* 74; Appian, *B C.* ii. 136.

now offered to release them. This speech it was proposed to publish, as the deliberate manifesto of the republican party. Cicero seems to have been consulted about revising it.[1] He approved of its style and substance; but the veteran declaimer lamented that it was not clothed in more glowing language, to inflame the passions of the people, rather than to convince their judgment.[2] The character of Brutus's oratory was dry, logical and precise: he had attempted, perhaps, to define the amount of provocation under which he had acted against Cæsar, after so long serving him, and to explain the exact conditions under which an oath of fidelity might cease to bind. Such refined reasonings were little suited to the occasion. Cicero remembered the fiery eloquence of his own invectives against Catilina, and the overwhelming effect of his broad and naked assertions of the enemy's guilty projects. He had hoped to see his countrymen touched once more with the electric spark of popular enthusiasm, such as he had then flung into their ranks; but while he regretted the want of generous ardour in the leader of the conspirators, he declined the ungracious task of breathing fire into their frigid proclamation.[3]

The conspirators come to terms with Antonius and Lepidus, and are entertained by them.

The harangue of Brutus, however, in the consideration it evinced for the classes interested in the ratification of Cæsar's acts, had touched at least one chord of grateful sympathy. When the recent decree of the senate came to be submitted to the people

[1] Cic. *ad Att.* xv. 1. B.: "Brutus noster ad me misit orationem suam habitam in concione Capitolina, petivitque a me, ut eam nec ambitiose corrigerem ante quam ederet."

[2] Cic. *l.c.*: "Est autem oratio scripta elegantissime sententiis, verbis ut nihil possit ultra. Ego tamen si illam causam habuissem scripsissem ardentius."

[3] Cicero excuses himself to Atticus from the task of amending Brutus's speech in rather hollow language: "Nemo unquam neque poeta neque orator fuit, qui quemquam meliorem quam se arbitraretur."

in the forum, there was a general disposition to accept the solution it offered of the crisis. Cicero mounted the rostra with more alacrity than he had felt for some years before: the project which he rose to advocate was plausible, it was expected with favourable ears, and it was, at least he deemed it, his own. The conspirators, still clinging to their rock, demanded hostages for their security: Antonius inspired them with confidence by his promptness in sending his own son as a gage of his fidelity. He had with some difficulty overruled Lepidus, who had expressed impatience to employ force against the assassins.[1] Force, he urged, was unnecessary to complete a victory which the semblance of amity had already secured. He persuaded his colleague to tender his son as an additional hostage, and thus to entice them from their stronghold by the assurance of their personal safety. The liberators descended once more from the Capitol, and the pretended reconciliation of the rival chieftains was ratified by private hospitality.[2] Lepidus invited Brutus, his wife's brother, while Antonius regaled Cassius; the rest of the band were entertained by other leaders of the Cæsareans. An anecdote is related which may serve to illustrate the coarse manners of the times; it preserves at least the characters of the speakers. Antonius, it is said, with the show of frank and careless gaiety which became him not less naturally than politics and war, rallied Cassius on the deed of blood. *Have you still,* he asked, *a dagger under your arm?* To which Cassius replied, with petty irritability, *Yes truly, and one big enough to slay you too, if you presume to affect the tyranny.*

The evening was spent in these hollow festivities. In the morning all parties met once more in the curia, and the dictator's assignment of the provinces

[1] Dion, xliv. 34. [2] Plut. *Brut.* 19.; Dion, *l. c.*

was again formally confirmed. M. Brutus was appointed to the government of Macedonia, where the legions were assembled, the temper and disposition of which were not yet ascertained. Cassius obtained Syria, where he had already distinguished himself, and acquired personal influence. Trebonius succeeded to Asia, Cimber to Bithynia, and Decimus to Cisalpine Gaul. This ratification of Cæsar's acts might be claimed as a victory by either party: the Cæsareans might point to it in proof of the esteem in which their lost patron was still held; while the nobles triumphed, not less speciously, at their own patrons and avengers being invested with such important commands. It was a questionable policy, however, on their part, to allow all their chief men to be thus removed from the centre of affairs. To seek the armies in the provinces was to leave the focus of intrigue unoccupied at home. But these arrangements were, of course, only prospective. Brutus, at least, and Cassius had their year of office to discharge, and their prætorial functions closely bound them to the city.

The chief conspirators receive the provinces assigned them by the dictator.

Nevertheless Antonius grasped in his own hands the key of power. The amnesty he had pretended to accept, but he resolved to counter-work, and he did not doubt to overthrow it: his position was a firm one, and he had set his foot firmly upon it. Himself actual and legitimate consul, he had moreover at his command the rank, station, and military power of Lepidus. Dolabella, his colleague in the consulship, though his personal enemy, was committed to the same policy with himself, and could not discard his support. His brothers Caius and Lucius occupied seats, the one among the prætors, the other among the tribunes. The rival who was really most to be dreaded, was overlooked by all parties, and was

Antonius is confident in his position.

still absent at Apollonia; and Antonius might easily flatter himself, that he who had outwitted senates and statesmen, could wind at his will the sickly stripling Octavius. The senate had voted him thanks for his vigour in suppressing the accents of sedition in the forum; and now, when a public funeral was demanded for Cæsar, it relied on his resolution to disarm the ceremony of danger. Cassius, it is said, vehemently opposed this concession. Simple and specious in itself, he foresaw notwithstanding that it would produce fatal confusion. As an experienced officer he knew the gusty passions of the veterans; as a civil magistrate he could calculate the effect of rekindling the fury of the populace. But Brutus, still confiding, after every proof to the contrary, in the moral effect of the patriot sacrifice, gave way to Piso's instances, and exerted his fatal ascendancy over his associates to allay their misgivings. So also when it was proposed that Cæsar's will should be recited, Cassius remonstrated, under the conviction that it would be found so framed as to conciliate popular favour towards the dictator's heirs and adherents. Brutus, however, on the other hand, with the same lofty disregard of consequences as before, refused to countenance this opposition; and Antonius, who had means, in either case, of turning the decision to his own advantage, allowed the prayer of Piso to be crowned with success.

Cassius opposing the public funeral and recital of Cæsar's will is overruled by Brutus.

Cæsar's heirs were the three grandsons of his sisters. The elder of these had married successively a Pedius and a Pinarius, men of ancient and honourable families.[1] Between her two descendants in the second generation

Cæsar's will declares Octavius the principal heir.

[1] Suet. *Jul.* 83. The former of these names does not occur earlier in Roman history, but it seems to be selected for an example of illustrious descent by Persius. *Sat.* i. 85. Suetonius expressly says that Q. Pedius, the dictator's heir, was his grand-nephew, and not, as some have supposed, his nephew. He was, however,

their great-uncle divided one-fourth of his possessions; but to Octavius, the grandson of his younger sister, he had bequeathed the remaining three-fourths; and this young man he by the same instrument had formally adopted as his son. But Cæsar, in his anxiety to found a dynasty, and bequeath his fortunes and his policy to a direct successor, had still hoped for issue of his own. In the event of such hopes being realized, during his own absence from Rome, he had named certain guardians for the infant; and these, it seems, he had selected from among the very men who were at the moment plotting against his life. So little did he anticipate treachery in the ranks of his most cherished adherents. He had even placed Decimus on the list of persons on whom he destined his inheritance to devolve, if relinquished by his appointed heirs, or in case of their premature decease.[1] The abuse of such generous confidence, when it came to be known, made a painful impression upon the public mind.

Disappointment of Cleopatra.

The dictator, it has been said, though three times married, had never had male children in lawful wedlock. His only daughter Julia had died prematurely, and been quickly followed to the tomb by the issue of her ill-starred union. His intention of instituting Octavius his heir, in default of direct descendants, was already well understood; but Cleopatra presumed on the power of her fascinations, or on the project currently ascribed to him of making her his wife, and had indulged the hope of extorting from him the recognition of a child of her own, of which she pronounced him the father.[2] For the interests of this child,

many years older than Octavius, having served as a legatus in Gaul in the year 696. The antiquity of the Pinarian house is commemorated by Livy, i. 7.

[1] Suet. *l. c.*; Plutarch, *Cæs.* 64.; Appian, ii. 143.

[2] Cicero apparently discredited this claim, and predicted that it would soon be forgotten. *Ad Att.* xiv. 1. A.: "De regina rumor ex-

whom she had named Cæsarion, she had come, as was surmised, to Rome: during the terrible days which succeeded her lover's assassination, she had shrunk from the public eye; and when the recital of his testament frustrated her hopes, she departed almost unnoticed from the city in which she had so lately hoped to occupy a throne.[1] Little did she dream, in that bitter moment of disappointment, how soon similar hopes would again be permitted to revive, and how near she should arrive once more at the same dazzling elevation.

Cæsar bequeaths to the Roman people his gardens beyond the Tiber.

The splendid inheritance which the master of the commonwealth could confer upon his chosen favourites, was burdened with munificent legacies to the people to whom he owed his pre-eminence. The same spirit of ostentatious generosity with which he had requited their applause by erecting his porticos and halls for public business, had prompted him to bequeath to the citizens for their recreation the palace and gardens he possessed beyond the Tiber.[2] The lower slopes of the Janiculan hill were at this time abandoned almost entirely to the mean dwellings of the poor. It was in this district that the Jews before the time of Augustus mostly congregated.[3] Some tombs of famous men, particularly one of Numa,[4] were shown within it, but it contained few public buildings except the temple of Fors Fortuna. Although inclosed within the city walls, the Transtibertine region retained all the appearance of a suburb, and a large part of it was included in the

tinguetur." But Oppius was employed by Octavius at a later period to publish a refutation of it (Suet. *Jul.* 52.), and the master of Rome did not think himself secure while such a rival existed.

[1] Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 8.

[2] Suet. *Jul.* 83.; Dion, xliv. 35.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 143.; Plut. *Brut.* 20.

[3] Philo, *Leg. ad Cai.* 23.

[4] Dionys. Hal. *Antiq.* ii. 76.; Plut. *Num.* 22.; Liv. xl. 29.

gardens of which we are speaking. The temple just mentioned lay at the first milestone from the Porta Flumentana, or river gate [1], and marked the extreme point of Cæsar's property. The gardens stretched thither along the bank of the Tiber, from the Palatine bridge, some mutilated arches of which are now distinguished by the name of Ponte Rotto. The Sublician bridge abutted upon them in the centre, and we may amuse ourselves with imagining that the palace of the Pamphili, standing close to its head, occupies the exact site of the mansion itself which furnished a temporary residence to the queen of ancient beauty. When this estate was surrendered to the use of the Roman people, the halls and corridors would be devoted to the reception of works of art, and objects of indoor enjoyment; while the gardens, planted with groves and intersected with alleys, would furnish a grateful alternation of shade and sunshine, for recreation in the open air.[2] It would be adorned with shrubs of evergreen, cut and trimmed in various fanciful shapes. Statues of admired workmanship, the spoil of many an Oriental capital, would spring from gravelled walks or parterres of native and exotic flowers; and ivy would be trained to creep in studied negligence around them. Long ranges of tessellated pavements would vie in variegated brilliancy of colour with the roses and violets, the hyacinths and poppies, which satisfied the simple taste of the ancient florists.[3] These gardens, occupying the right bank of the river, immediately faced the

[1] See the Calendarium in Orelli, *Inscript.* ii. 392.

[2] Cicero praises a sunny garden (*ad Div.* xvi. 18.); but a passage in Propertius gives a vivid picture of the umbrageous plantations which surrounded the patrician villas on the banks of the Tiber:

"Tu licet abjectus Tiberina molliter unda," etc. i. 14. 1.

[3] Columella (*de R. R.* x.) gives a long list of the glories of a Roman garden: several of its flowers were of foreign origin, but the greater part the native produce of Italian fields and woods, improved no doubt by cultivation.

slope of the Aventine hill, and lay almost in its morning shadow. At a later period Augustus added to their attractions by excavating at their side a reservoir for great naval spectacles[1]; and they remained for several generations the cherished patrimony of the Roman people.[2] In a later age they were eclipsed in fame and fashion by the more gorgeous creations of Titus, Caracalla, and Diocletian.

Besides this munificent present to the Roman people collectively, the dictator had bequeathed to each citizen the sum of three hundred sesterces, or rather less than three pounds sterling. The money itself, indeed, was not forthcoming; for Antonius had already disposed of the whole treasure which had fallen into his hands. But Octavius had not yet arrived to discharge his patron's legacies; many formalities and some chances lay between the public avowal of these generous intentions and the claim for their actual fulfilment; and Antonius, in the meantime, might turn to his own account the grateful acknowledgments of the people for a largess they might never be destined to enjoy. The bare recital of Cæsar's testament operated on their feelings most favourably to his interests. Now for the first time they were fully roused to a sense of their benefactor's wrongs. Now for the first time the black ingratitude of Decimus and the others, his confidants and his assassins, stood revealed in its hideous deformity. The sense of per-

Also a sum of three hundred sesterces to every citizen.

[1] Comp. the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, col. 4.: "Navalis prælii spectaculum populo dedi trans Tiberim;" Tac. *Ann.* xii. 56. "Ut quondam Augustus structo cis Tiberim stagno." This lake extended apparently from the convent of S. Francisco to the church of S. Cecilia. Comp. Suet. *Tib.* 72.

[2] Statius, *Sylv.* iv. 4, 5.

"Continuo dextras flavi pete Tybridis oras,
Lydia qua penitus stagnum navale coercet
Ripa, suburbanisque vadum prætexitur hortis."

sonal loss stifled every specious argument that could be advanced to extenuate the crime. The vindication of the laws, the assertion of liberty, the overthrow of a tyrant and a dynasty of tyrants, all sank at once before the paramount iniquity of destroying the only substantial benefactor the Roman people had ever had. Many a magistrate or conqueror indeed had lavished shows and festivals upon them; the city owed its noblest ornaments to the rivalry of suitors for popularity; but these were candidates for honours and distinctions, and had all a personal object to serve; while the bequest of the murdered Julius was deemed an act of pure generosity, for the dead can have no selfish interests.

The public funeral of the dictator.

The heralds proclaimed throughout the city the appointed place and hour of the obsequies. A funeral pyre was constructed in the Field of Mars, close to the spot where lay the ashes of Julia; for the laws forbade cremation within the walls, and the laws, enacted for purposes of health, were reinforced by feelings of superstition. But the funeral oration was to be pronounced in the forum, and a temporary chapel, open on every side, modelled, it is said, after the temple of Venus the Ancestress, was erected before the rostra, and gorgeously gilded, for the reception of the body.[1] The bier was a couch inlaid with ivory, and strewn with vestments of gold and purple. At its head was suspended, in the fashion of a warrior's trophy, the toga in which the dictator had been slain, pierced through and through by the assassins' daggers. Calpurnius Piso walked at the head of the procession, as chief mourner; the body was borne by the highest magistrates and most dignified personages in the state; the people were invited to make

[1] Suet. *Jul.* 84.: "Pro rostris aurata ædes ad simulachrum templi Veneris Genetricis collocata." These were divine honours, and implied the apotheosis of the hero.

oblations for the pyre, of garments, arms, trinkets, and spices. So great was the concourse of the offerers, that the order in which they were appointed to present themselves could not be preserved, but every one was allowed to approach the spot by whatever route he chose from every corner of the city. When the mangled remains were deposited in their place, they were concealed from the gaze of the multitude: but in their stead a waxen effigy was raised aloft, and turned about by machinery in every direction; and the people could distinctly mark the three-and-twenty wounds represented faithfully upon it.[1] Dramatic shows formed, as usual, a part of the ceremony. Passages from the Electra of Attilius, and the Contest for the arms of Achilles, a celebrated piece of Pacuvius, were enacted on the occasion. The murder of Agamemnon, and the requital of Ajax, who complained that in saving the Greeks he had saved his own assassins, furnished pungent allusions to the circumstances of the time, and moved the sensibilities of an inflammable populace.[2]

The consul Antonius pronounces the funeral eulogy.

While the feelings of the citizens were thus melting with compassion or glowing with resentment, Antonius came forward as the first magistrate of the republic, to deliver the funeral eulogy due to the mighty dead. Historians and poets have felt the intense interest of the position he at that moment occupied, and have vied with each other in delineating with the nicest touches the adroitness he displayed in guiding the passions of

[1] Appian, *B.C.* ii. 147. *ἀνέσχε τις ὑπὲρ τὸ λέχος ἀνδρείκελον αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκ κηροῦ πεποιημένον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμα, ὡς ὕπτιον ἐπὶ λέχους οὐχ ἑωρᾶτο· τὸ δὲ ἀνδρείκελον ἐκ μηχανῆς ἐπεστρέφετο πάντη, καὶ σφαγαὶ τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσι ὤφθησαν.* So ancient is the Italian taste for puppet-show.

[2] These plays were selected for the purpose. "Inter ludos cantata sunt quædam ad miserationem et invidiam cædis ejus, accommodata ex Pacuvii Armorum judicio: Men' servasse, ut essent qui me perderent? et ex Attilii Electra alia ad similem sententiam." Suet. *Jul. l. c.*

his audience. Suetonius indeed asserts that he added few words of his own to the bare recital of the decrees of the senate, by which every honour, human and divine, had been heaped upon Cæsar, and of the oath by which his destined assassins had bound themselves to his defence. But Cicero tells a different story. He speaks with bitter indignation of the praises, the commiseration, and the inflammatory appeals, which he interwove with his address.[1] With such contemporary authority before us, we may believe that the speech reported by Appian is no rhetorical fiction, but a fair representation both in manner and substance of the actual harangue. The most exquisite scene in the truest of all Shakspeare's historical delineations adds little except the charm of verse and the vividness of dramatic action to the graphic painting of the original record.

Character of his harangue

This famous speech was in fact a consummate piece of dramatic art. The eloquence of Antonius was less moving than the gestures which enforced it, and the accessory circumstances which he enlisted to plead on his behalf. He addressed himself to the eyes, no less than to the ears of his audience. He disclaimed the position of a funeral panegyrist: his friendship with the deceased might render his testimony suspected. He was, indeed, unworthy to praise Cæsar: the voice of the people alone could pronounce his befitting eulogy. He produced the acts of the senate, and of the faction by whose hands Cæsar had fallen, as the ground of his appeal, and the vouchers of his assertions. These he recited with a voice tremulous with grief, and a countenance struggling with emotions. He read the decrees which had within a twelvemonth heaped honours upon Cæsar, and which declared his person inviolable, his authority supreme, and himself

[1] Suet. *l. c.*; Cicero, *Philipp.* ii. 36.: "Tua illa pulchra laudatio, tua miseratio, tua cohortatio." Comp. Plutarch, *Brut.* 20., *Anton.* 14.

the chief and father of his country. Were these honours excessive or dangerous to the state, the senate had bestowed them: did they even trench upon the attributes of the gods, the pontiffs had sanctioned them. And when he came to the words *consecrated, inviolable, father of his country,* the orator pointed with artful irony to the bleeding and lifeless corpse, which neither laws nor oaths had shielded from outrage. He paused, and the dramatic chorus sent forth some ancient wail, such as ages before had been consecrated to the sorrows of heroes, who like Cæsar had been kings of men, and of houses which like the Julian had sprung from gods and goddesses. Then from these examples of high fortune and its tragic issues, he passed on to recite the solemn oath by which the senate, the nobles, and among them the conspirators themselves, had devoted their hearts and hands to their hero's defence; and thereupon turning with glowing emotion towards the temple of Jupiter, conspicuous on the Capitol, he exclaimed: *And I, for my part, am prepared to maintain my vow, to avenge the victim I could not save.* Such words from the chief magistrate of the state were deeply impressive. The senators scowled and murmured. Antonius pretended to check his impetuosity, and address himself to soothing their alarm. After all, he said, it was not the work of men, it was the judgment of the gods. Cæsar was too great, too noble, too far above the race of men, too nigh to the nature of the immortals, to be overthrown by any power but that of divinity itself. *Let us bow,* he exclaimed, *to the stroke as mortal men. Let us bury the past in oblivion. Let us bear away these venerable remains to the abodes of the blessed, with due lamentations and deserved eulògies!*

With these words the consummate actor girt his robes closely around him, and striding to the bier,

with his head inclined before it, muttered a hymn to the body, as to the image of a god. In rapid verse or solemn modulated prose he chaunted the mighty deeds and glories of the deceased, the trophies he had won, the triumphs he had led, the riches he had poured into the treasury. *Thou, Cæsar, alone wast never worsted in battle. Thou alone hast avenged our defeats and wiped away our disgraces. By thee the insults of three hundred years stand requited. Before thee has fallen the hereditary foe who burnt the city of our fathers.* So did the Potitii and Pinarii recite their hymns to Hercules: so did the frantic hierophant sing the praises of Apollo.[1] The flamen of Julius seemed instinct with the inspiration of the altar and the tripod, while he breathed the frantic devotion of the ancient faith. The blood-smeared image was turned this way and that for all eyes to gaze upon, and as it seemed to writhe in the agonies of death, the groans of men and the shrieks of women drowned the plaintive accents of the speaker. Suddenly Antonius raised the mangled garment which hung over the body itself, and waving it before the people disclosed the rents of the murderers' daggers. The excitement of the populace now became uncontrollable. Religious enthusiasm fanned the flame of personal sympathy. They forbade the body to be carried to the field of Mars for cremation. Some pointed to the temple of Jupiter, where the effigy of the demi-god had been enthroned in front of

It stimulates the people to frenzy.

[1] Compare with Appian's words (*B. C.* ii. 146.) the invocation to Hercules in Virgil, *Æneid*, viii. 293, and the hymn to Apollo in Statius, *Thebaid.* i. in fin. The abrupt transition to the second person both in Virgil and Appian is a striking coincidence, and persuades me that the poet has strictly preserved the proper form of hymnody, and the historian the genuine tradition of this act of hero-worship. The chord which awakened the religious sentiment of the Romans, Shakspeare has neglected or forborne to touch.

the deity himself, and demanded that it should be burnt in the holy shrine, and its ashes deposited among its kindred divinities. The priests stepped forward to avert this profanation, and it was then proposed to consume the body in the Pompeian Curia, whence the mighty spirit had winged its flight to the celestial mansions. Meanwhile chairs, benches, and tables had been snatched from the adjacent buildings, a heap of fuel was raised before the door of the pontifical mansion in the forum, and the body snatched by tumultuary hands was cast upon it in a frenzy of excitement. Two young men, girt with swords and javelin in hand, were seen to apply the torch.[1] Such a vision had appeared in ancient times in the heat of battle. Castor and Pollux, it was believed, had descended more than once in human form to save the republic. A divine sanction was thus given to the deed: every scruple was overruled; and it was resolved to consume the hero's remains in the heart of his own city. The people continued to pile up branches and brushwood; the musicians and players added their costly garments to the heap, the veterans their arms, the matrons their ornaments; even the trinkets which adorned the children's frocks were torn off, and offered in the blazing conflagration. Cæsar was beloved by the Romans: he was not less dear to the foreigners who owed so much to his ascendancy, and had anticipated so much more. Gauls, Iberians, Africans, and Orientals, crowded in successive groups around the pyre, and gave vent to the sense of their common misfortune. Among them the Jews were eminently conspicuous. Cæsar was the only Roman who had respected their feelings, and assured them

They cause the body to be consumed in the forum.

[1] The narratives of Suetonius and Appian require to be compared together. The pretended vision was doubtless contrived to counteract the superstitious repugnance to burning within the walls.

of his sympathy. Many of this people continued for several nights to assemble with sorrow and resentment on the spot, and uttered another funeral dirge over the blighted hopes of their nation.

and turn their fury upon the assassins.

So violent a demonstration of grief could not stop here. Brands snatched from the flaming pile suggested the most obvious vengeance, and offered the readiest weapons. The crowds streamed away from the forum through the streets: the houses of Brutus and Cassius were the first objects of attack. The liberators indeed had fled, and the rioters were repulsed; for in Rome every noble mansion, with its slaves, clients and retainers, formed a domestic fortress, and was proof against a sudden assault. When the excitement of the multitude was somewhat exhausted by these fruitless sallies, it was at last persuaded to refrain from further violence. The assurance that the chiefs of the assassins had fled from the city helped perhaps to calm its vengeful passions. One unfortunate man fell a victim to its fury. Helvius Cinna, a devoted adherent and flatterer of the dictator, was mistaken for Cinna the prætor, against whom the populace had before expressed its indignation: and in spite of his frantic appeals, he was torn in pieces on the spot.[1] But this, it would appear, was the only blood shed. Caius Casca affixed to his house door a paper notifying that he was not the Publius Casca who had taken a prominent part in the conspiracy.[2] The house of Bellienus, a freedman, notorious for his staunch adherence to the Pompeian faction, was burnt to the ground; but there seems no reason to suppose that any further violence was committed.[3] After all it must

[1] Pl[illegible] *Brut.* 20. who calls him ποιητικὸς ἀνήρ. See the story of his dre[illegible] Plut *Cæs.* 68. Comp. Dion, xliv. 50.; Appian, *B.C.* ii. 147.; Suet. *Jul.* 85.; Val. Max. ix. 9, 1.

[2] Dion. xliv. 52.

[3] Compare the real Cicero, *Philipp.* ii. 36., with the pseudo-Cicero in Dion's history, xlv. 23.

be allowed that a popular commotion in ancient Rome was a tame affair in comparison with the riots which our own generation seems doomed periodically to witness. It must be remembered that the most degraded and dangerous class of the population of modern cities was almost unknown under the institutions of slavery; and that the interests even of a mob of Roman citizens were opposed to indiscriminate rapine and destruction. But even this may not suffice to account for the comparative harmlessness of their popular ebullitions. Trained from infancy in habits of obedience, and impressed with a deep sense of the majesty of law, they had not yet been debauched by the fatal consciousness of their own power. The time was coming when the reins of government, now thrown upon their necks, would be resumed by a steadier and stronger hand than ever; and Rome, amidst all the excesses of its nobles and the degradation of its principles, was never held for a day in possession by a horde of plunderers.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Antonius reassures the nobles by his patriotic policy.—He abolishes the dictatorship for ever, and represses Cæsarean outbreaks.—His crafty use of Cæsar's papers.—He assigns lands in Campania.—Octavius returns to Italy and claims Cæsar's inheritance.—His favourable reception by the nobles and citizens.—He discharges the dictator's bequests and fulfils his obligations.—Antonius regards his proceedings with jealousy.—The liberators abandon Rome.—Decimus assumes the command of the Cisalpine.—Antonius induces the senate to take Syria and Macedonia from the liberators, and bestow them upon Dolabella and himself.—Brutus attempts to recover the favour of the people by the Ludi Apollinares.—His disappointment.—Pretended reconciliation of Antonius and Octavius, whereby Antonius obtains from the people the Cisalpine province with the army of Parthia in exchange for Macedonia.—Cicero's despondency.—He leaves Italy, but presently returns and proceeds to Rome. (A.U. 710. B.C. 44.)

Antonius reassures the senate by his moderation.

SUCH was the disastrous effect of the ill-timed concession, by which the populace had been summoned to behold a sight, and listen to words which could not fail to inflame their restless blood to madness. The deed of deliverance was repudiated and denounced; its perpetrators were compelled to fly or to hide themselves; the names of law, of patriotism, of the republic, were rendered odious to the mass of the citizens, and tyranny was justified, applauded and avenged. The demand for a public funeral had not been made by Antonius, nor to all appearance in concert with him. The opening of the will, a measure which could not be disconnected with it, thwarted some of his schemes, and he had thus far done no more than accept a proposition advanced and supported by others. But, when once determined on, he had taken the management of it into his own hands. The selection of scenes from the dramas which

were represented, the religious colour studiously cast over the whole ceremony, the contrived interference of the pretended Dioscuri, and even the means provided for the suppression of the disturbance must all be attributed to the consul's astuteness. The sudden outpouring of popular fury not less suddenly abated. The movements of Antonius may be compared to the rise and fall of an inundation.[1] As the stream swells all is terror and confusion, but as soon as it subsides within its banks the confidence of the husbandman returns. Alarmed as the nobles had been by the furious outburst over which the consul had manifestly presided, no sooner did he calm the excitement and succeed in restoring order than their hopes once more revived, and they were willing to rely on the first assurance he gave of his determination to preserve the peace. Exulting in the terror which had driven his most dangerous adversaries into concealment, he assumed a generous and frank demeanour towards their adherents, and invited the chiefs of all parties to deliberate with him in private at his own house. The result of these deliberations he shaped into measures to be submitted to the assembled senate. Every question propounded to him he answered, says Cicero, firmly and consistently; not a word did he yet say of the contents of Cæsar's papers.[2] The dictator had recalled from banishment many victims of the oligarchy; but he had sternly resisted every solicitation in favour of the justly proscribed agitators who were suffering for their share in the Clodian disturbances. The nobles apprehended that the recent amnesty would be stretched to cover these criminals; and they were prepared to esteem it a mark of great forbearance on the consul's part when he proposed to relieve one only of the num-

[1] Drumann, i. 105. [2] Cic. *Philipp.* i. 1.

ber from banishment. This was Sextus Clodius, a man of low origin, but a client and an agent of the notorious tribune. Antonius, having married the tribune's widow, was interested in one who had proved himself unscrupulous and active in such a patron's cause. A curious letter exists which he addressed on this man's behalf to Cicero. The consul professes to ask as an act of grace[1] the pardon of this devoted adherent of the orator's deadliest foe. Cicero, whom so hollow a compliment could not really deceive, did not fail however to reply in a corresponding strain of pretended regard. Both were equally false and each equally conscious of the other's falsehood. But they wrote doubtless for the public, to whom they knew that their letters would be communicated, and each was anxious to appear as a peacemaker in the eyes of his countrymen. There was another point on which the nobles were jealous. They grudged the immunities from tribute which Cæsar had bestowed upon various states and cities, an indulgence which thwarted the traditional policy of their administration. On this point also they were anxious to extort a pledge from the consul that he would abstain from following the dictator's example. Great was their satisfaction when he assured them that he meditated no such boons.[1] Sulpicius, one of the haughtiest of the republican faction, now came boldly forward, and demanded that no further public or private grace of the dictator should be registered in the archives, and Antonius at once plied before the storm, and undertook of his own accord to desire the senate to pass a decree to that effect. Many other acts and sayings of the consul corresponded with this auspicious beginning. The senate was gradually warming more

[1] Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 13, 14.

[2] Cicero, *Philipp.* i. 1. "Num qui exules restituti? unum aiebat, præterea neminem. Num immunitates datæ? nullæ, respondebat."

and more in his favour. He accepted Dolabella as his colleague, and hollow as the pretended reconciliation between them was, the nobles were satisfied with the semblance of harmony, and deemed it a pledge of their enemy's good faith. But the crowning stroke of his crafty policy was his proposal that the name and office of dictator should be for ever abolished. The assembled senate exulted and approved. Antonius had brought his decree to the place of meeting already prepared; not a word was wasted in discussing it, and it was immediately carried by acclamation.[1] The measures of Antonius were not generally designed for permanence, but this monument of his legislation endured. Julius Cæsar was the last dictator of Rome.

He accepts Dolabella as his colleague in the consulship,

and abolishes for ever the office of dictator.

Great was the exultation of Cicero and the patriots, with whom political phrases had still an extraordinary influence. With the abolition of the name of dictator they declared that the freedom of the commonwealth was secured. *We are delivered,* they exclaimed, *not only from kingly rule, but from all apprehension of kingly rule.*[2] A few days later the senate might congratulate itself on being preserved from the still more imminent dangers of anarchy. The people continued to assemble in agitated groups around the spot where the holocaust had been offered. Here they repeated night after night the solemnity of burning an effigy of the deceased; and every time this ceremony was renewed the peace of the city and the lives of all Cæsar's enemies were in manifest jeopardy. In an era of revolution there are always by-plots running for a time in parallel

Imposture of the pretended Marius.

[1] Cic. *l. c.* and i. 13. "Hæc inusta est a te, inquam, mortuo Cæsari nota ad ignominiam sempiterna." He compares it to the decree by which the name of M. Manlius was abolished.

[2] Cicero (*Philipp.* i. 2.) could say, long after the futility of these anticipations was apparent: "Non modo regno quod pertuleramus, sed etiam regni timore sublato."

lines with the main action of the drama. Even before Cæsar's death the popular mind was in an unsettled state, and a keen-eyed statesman might have looked forward with much anxiety to any event which should excite the imagination of the multitude, and arouse its slumbering passions. It seems that a man named Herophilus, who followed the humble craft of a horse-doctor, having first disguised his Greek extraction by assuming the Latin name of Amatius, was emboldened by Cæsar's long absence in his last Spanish campaign, and the sinister rumours which circulated regarding him, to sue for the favour of the people by declaring himself a descendant of their old hero Marius.[1] He signed himself Caius Marius, son of Caius and grandson of Caius; and as such he claimed affinity with Cæsar himself, and also with Cicero.[2] With the lower orders of the citizens, with many of the veterans in the colonies, and among some of the Italian townships, this imposture found ready acceptance. During Cæsar's absence the adventurer had addressed himself to Octavius, and demanded of him a public acknowledgment of the genuineness of his claims, which the terrified youth evaded but dared not refuse. Octavius even allowed himself to be seen among the crowds which thronged about this man in the public places[3]; the favour of the populace was manifested by ardent tokens of admiration; and when the victor of Munda returned to Rome, and gave a public entertainment in his gardens, he was surprised to see this audacious upstart place himself on the opposite side of the same pillar with himself, and divide if

[1] The story of Herophilus is told by Appian, *B. C.* iii. *init.*; Val. Max. ix. 15, 1. Compare the allusions to it in Cicero's correspondence, *ad Att.* xii. 49., xiv. 5, 6, 7, 8.; *ad Div.* ix. 14.; and *Philipp.* i. 2.

[2] The grandfather of Cicero had married an aunt of Marius. See *de Leg.* iii. 16.

[3] Nicolaus Dam. ci. 14.

not divert the applause of the assembled citizens. Threatened with impeachment for this daring imposture, Amatius impudently appealed to Cicero in the name of Marius, their common kinsman, to defend him before his judges. The orator with grim irony referred him to Cæsar himself, as not less his relative, and possessed of much more power. Cæsar, however, used his power without hesitation in crushing this presumptuous rival. The pretender was speedily exiled from Rome; but it was a signal proof of the dictator's clemency, that he was allowed to escape with his life. Cowed by the energy of the government, the false Marius abstained from obtruding himself upon public notice during Cæsar's lifetime. But the ferment of the populace which followed upon the fatal obsequies presented a tempting opportunity. In the beginning of April he reappeared in the forum, and introduced himself among the groups which still haunted the spot. He appealed once more to the venerated name of Marius, and fanned the unquenched flame of their excitement. He avowed himself ready to assume the championship of the popular cause, which Cæsar's natural successors seemed to have renounced. The assassins, and the senate in general, he menaced with signal vengeance. The populace had already erected a column of costly marble over their hero's ashes, inscribed, *to the Father of his country*: their new leader insisted on placing an altar before it, and on sacrificing thereon to Cæsar as a god. The people pledged themselves with vows in Cæsar's name, and decided their controversies by appealing to his divinity.[1] Cicero had retired at this time into the country. These irregularities were at first reported to him as the work of Cæsar's freedmen: their origin was soon more accurately disclosed, and he awaited in anxious

[1] Suet. *Jul.* 85.; Dion, xliv. 56.; Cic. *ad Div.* xi. 2.

expectation the steps the consul should take to suppress them. He may have suspected the complicity of Antonius in a movement calculated to keep alive the fears of the senate, and throw it, in the absence of Brutus and Cassius, more completely into his own hands. Whether or not this were so, Antonius judged it expedient to extinguish the popular demagogue. He dispersed the rioters with an armed force, seized the adventurer, and threw him into prison, where he caused him to be put to a traitor's death, without form of law.[1]

Antonius begins to use the authority of Cæsar's papers for his own ends.

This vigorous exercise of authority, in which both the consuls heartily joined, was calculated to reassure to a certain extent the nobles, who were becoming alarmed at the unexpected use Antonius was beginning to make of the fatal decree by which Cæsar's acts were ratified. These *acts* embraced in their proper signification the laws which the dictator had caused to be passed, the appointments he had made, and the immunities or privileges he had expressly conferred upon countries, cities, or individuals. But Antonius, possessed as he was of the papers and private notes found in the archives of the deceased, could plead for every measure he desired to effect, for every favour he was anxious to bestow, the previous wish and intention of the illustrious dead. He audaciously claimed for the mere suggestions and memoranda of the dictator the same respect which had been accorded to his actual enactments. This glaring misapplication of the decree, advanced perhaps at first with caution and by stealth, once admitted in trifling matters, was presently stretched further, and by degrees the consul was emboldened to cover every project he cherished with the convenient mantle of Cæsar's will. To maintain himself upon the narrow isthmus on which

[1] Appian, *B. C.* iii. 3: χωρὶς δίκης μάλα θρασέως.

he stood, and play off against each other the contending parties and personages, by all of whom he was feared and hated, demanded a profuse expenditure of places, promises and money. The veterans and the people, the Italians and the provincials, required to be amused with shows, or gorged with plunder. Dolabella could only be kept at his colleague's side by having his debts extinguished with the spoils of the temple of Ops. Moreover, the consul's private pleasures were expensive. He had to attach to himself a party upon no foundation of class interests, but from mere personal habits and connexion. No resources less extensive than those of the state itself could cement the vast edifice of boon-companionship in which his influence resided. To forge the links of personal devotion Antonius grasped all the preferment within his reach; and the presumed will of the dictator was abruptly appealed to whenever an excuse was required for expelling an adversary or advancing a creature.[1] The senate stood aghast at the audacity with which these slender claims were urged. But Antonius did not trust to his own unsupported assertions. When Cæsar's notes and memoranda failed, he found in one of his scribes, named Faberius, a skilful instrument for palming upon the city a wholesale forgery of supposititious documents. This man could produce in rapid succession, at his patron's bidding, the rough draft of edicts and decrees, which he affirmed had been prepared by Cæsar's orders to receive the ready sanction of the senate and people.[2] It was in vain that many of the dictator's intimates could aver that these dispositions were opposed to his well-known wishes, while much which he really

Forgeries of Faberius

[1] Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 20.: "Ita ne vero, ut omnia facta, scripta, dicta, promissa, cogitata Cæsaris plus valerent quam si ipse viveret." Comp. *Phil.* i. 7, 8.; *ad Att.* xiv. 14.

[2] Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 18.; Appian, *B. C.* iii. 5.; Vell. ii. 60.

desired was suppressed: their explanations were silenced by clamour, or tacitly disregarded: the name of Cæsar, in the mouth of Antonius, carried every thing before it. Every document to which that illustrious subscription was attached passed without serious question, and was transferred to imperishable brass, in spite of the murmurs of tribunes, the warnings of augurs, and the indignant reclamations of bewildered senators.[1] With such an instrument in his hands, the success of the craftiest of intriguers, in corrupting patriots and fixing waverers, can excite no wonder. In a short time he extended his influence over Italy, the provinces, and the allies. He conferred upon Sicily the full franchise of the city. He sought to control the adverse suffrages of the senate by intruding batches of new members into its ranks. He released prisoners from confinement, recalled exiles from banishment, and reinstated in their possessions and privileges the sufferers of various parties. For all such as owed this advancement or rehabilitation to the presumed favour of the dead man, the people invented a familiar name of derision, which has been transmitted to history. They were called Orcini or Charonitæ; liegemen of Death and fares of the Stygian ferryman.[2]

Antonius secures his personal safety by means of a body-guard.

Nor less did Antonius turn to account the wrath of the city mob, which he had brought upon himself by his various acts of repression. He extorted from the senate permission to arm for his personal protection a body-guard of six thousand soldiers. Doubtless, the treasures amassed by

[1] The *Epistola ad Octavium* (Cic. *Ep. ad Brut.* ii. 8.), though undoubtedly spurious, contains some pieces of spirited declamation not unworthy of the great orator, nor unlike his style. Of Antonius it says: "Publicam dilapidabat pecuniam, ærarium exhauriebat, minuebat vectigalia, donabat civitates, ex commentario dictaturam gerebat, leges imponebat, prohibebat dictatorem creari plebiscito, ipse regnabat in consulatu."

[2] Suet. *Oct.* 35.; Plut. *Ant.* 15. Comp. Cic. *Philipp.* i. 10.

his master for the expenses of the Parthian armament helped to buy the suffrages by which this new tyranny was erected over the body of the murdered tyrant. These troops were a select and trusty band. They consisted for the most part of centurions, and other petty officers of the veterans. They surrounded the consul's mansion day and night, and soon gave it the appearance, and indeed the reality, of a fortress in the midst of the city.[1] In vain did the senate stipulate that their numbers should be gradually reduced. In the midst of the partial acclamations and disguised jealousy which had followed upon his recent conservative exploits, Antonius left the city in the month of April. Anxious to fortify his position on the eve of Octavius's return from Apollonia, he had caused an agrarian law to be proposed by his brother Lucius the tribune. This enactment gave the consul authority to make fresh assignments of lands to the veterans; it had been carried with a high hand, in spite of a thunderstorm, which, in other times, would have stayed the proceedings; and he now made a progress into Campania to superintend the execution of the measure, and watch over his personal interests in an affair of so much delicacy. The obscurity which hangs over these agrarian enactments generally, with which the Romans themselves seem to have been so familiar as to deem all explanation superfluous, has concealed from us the precise nature of the provisions of this particular law. Cicero speaks of them in terms more than usually extravagant. He affects serious alarm for his own lands and villas, even for his retreat at Tusculum. *Cæsar*, he says, *proposed to drain the Pomptine marshes; his successor has given the whole of Italy to his brother to divide.* It would appear that under the

He proceeds into Campania to superintend a new assignment of lands.

[1] Appian, *B. C.* iii. 5.

plea of disposing of the fresh drained lands in that sterile district, the measure extended to the allocation of other lots in more distant regions, and especially in Campania. It was the principle of the Roman law that lands allotted to colonists from the public domains should revert to the state when from the death or desertion of their legitimate holders they ceased to be occupied. So restless were the new proprietors of these estates, that this extinction of claims was perhaps constantly occurring. This gave rise repeatedly to fresh divisions of land, and an infusion of fresh proprietors into existing colonies. It is possible that under this practice Antonius had ousted some actual occupiers, that he had founded entirely new colonies instead of replenishing the old. A few such cases of injustice would suffice for the basis of Cicero's sweeping invective. In such cases compensation at least was ordinarily offered; but whether this was done on the present occasion or not, the old colonists undoubtedly felt themselves aggrieved, and found means at no distant period to express their resentment.[1]

Dolabella is applauded by the nobles for his zeal in suppressing Cæsarean outbreaks.

The orgies by which, according to the reiterated taunts of a bitter enemy, the progresses of Antonius were ordinarily disgraced, could not disguise from him the clouds of danger gathering around his path.[2] He was uneasy at the conduct of Dolabella, who now left in sole enjoyment of power in the city, was playing into the hands of the patriots, and crushing with redoubled energy every popular expression of regard for Cæsar's memory. Antonius had carried his measures of repression to the furthest point consistent with his

[1] See Cicero, *Philipp.* ii. 39, 40.; Dion, xlv. 9.

[2] Cicero had comforted himself a little before with the remark that Antonius seemed to think more of his debaucheries than of political intrigue. *Ad Att.* xiv. 3.: "Quem quidem ego epularum magis arbitror rationem habere quam quidquam mali cogitare." Never was a statesman more grossly deceived by his own wishes.

character as a Cæsarean: but his colleague was restrained by no such consideration. Not satisfied with the punishment inflicted upon the pretended Marius and his riotous adherents, he had proceeded to overthrow the altar they had erected to Cæsar in the forum, and even the marble pillar which commemorated his obsequies. Dolabella encouraged his soldiers to tear from their pedestals the statues of the dictator; and when it was rumoured that those monuments of popular veneration had been removed to a foundry, and that their faces were being transformed to the likeness of other originals, the people broke out again into seditious excesses, and were only quelled by the unsparing employment of military force.[1] Nor was he content with merely repressing the tumult with arms: he terrified the discontented by the severest punishments, and caused the site of the obnoxious monuments to be levelled and paved for public traffic.[2] The nobles, most of whom had crept away to their country seats, for the sake, as they affirmed, of their health, lauded their new deliverer to the skies. Cicero, who felt his own person insecure in the unsettled state of the public mind, wrote from his distant retreat at Puteoli, that the act was universally approved even by the lowest classes, that the republic was restored, and that Brutus might now carry a golden crown through the forum without molestation. This hasty and childish exultation at the first symptom of supposed re-action, contemptible in a statesman of so much experience and so many reverses, is too consistent with the temper he com-

[1] Appian, *B. C.* iii. 3. There can be no doubt, as Drumann has remarked, that this writer has here mistaken the one consul for the other.

[2] Cicero, *ad Att.* xiv. 15., writing from Puteoli on 1 May: "O mirificum Dolabellam meum! jam enim dico meum; antea, crede mihi, subdubitabam. Magnam ἀναθεώρησιν ista res habet: de saxo; in crucem; columnam tollere; locum illum sternendum locare." Comp. *Epp.* 16, 18.

monly displayed to excite any surprise; but it must raise a more painful feeling to witness such self-degradation of the sage and patriot before the worthless intriguer who had divorced his lost and lamented Tullia. Nor is our vexation diminished by the suspicion to which he is justly liable of having been partly influenced in this flattery, the hollowness of which he himself felt, by anxiety for the restitution of his daughter's dower, which Dolabella had not yet had the grace or the ability to make.[1] The character, indeed, and the figure of Dolabella were equally despicable: Cicero himself, at another season, could scoff at the puny warrior, and ask, *who tied him to his long sword?*[2] While in the city the consort of Tullia was a notorious spendthrift and debauchee, he exhibited neither courage nor conduct in the field. His father-in-law hails him at this crisis as another Agamemnon: we may hear the same voice by and by denounce him in terms only applicable to a Thersites.

Octavius crosses over to Italy on the news of Cæsar's death.

A greater actor now appears upon the stage. Octavius, the grandnephew of Julius Cæsar, had been sent by him, as we have seen, to combine the study of arts and arms in the camp at Apollonia. Here he was appointed to remain under the tuition of the rhetorician Apollodorus, and in the daily practice of his military exercises, till the dictator should arrive to assume the command of the army, and lead it to the Parthian frontier. Thus

[1] Compare Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 19, 1 and 5. It seems that Atticus occupied himself with nothing so intently in this awful crisis of the commonwealth, as with pestering his friends about his private money matters. Dolabella was in debt to him also, which caused him great uneasiness. There is hardly anything more melancholy throughout the range of Cicero's letters, all the circumstances considered, than the following sentence: "Sed totum se ab te alienavit Dolabella ea de causa qua me quoque sibi inimicissimum reddidit. O hominem pudentem! Kal. Jan. debuit, adhuc non solvit; præsertim cum se maximo ære alieno Faberii manu liberavit, et opem ab eo petierit." Comp. *ad Div.* xvi. 24.; *Att.* xiv. 20, 21, 22.

[2] Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 3.

employed he became familiarly known to the officers and legionaries, and, with a shrewd perception of his interests, he studied from the first to secure their affections. He had hardly been four months on the coast of Epirus when tidings arrived of the Ides of March. The first hasty letters of Atia to her son could only announce the astounding event; they communicated no advices regarding its cause and the circumstances connected with it. She could not declare whether it was the judicial execution of a resolution of the senate, or the rash violence of some private enmity, whether the citizens had hailed it with exultation, or denounced its perpetrators as cowardly assassins. Still less could she assure him that he had been appointed heir to the dictator; she could only allow him to presume on his proximity in blood, and the favours he had already experienced. Nevertheless, she urged him to repair to Rome; to bear himself like a man; to trust boldly to fortune. When he communicated this summons to his friends, many of them warmly dissuaded him from such a course. M. Agrippa and Q. Salvidienus advised him to throw himself on the protection of the legions quartered beyond the Adriatic [1]; at the same time he was invited by some of their officers to put himself at their head, and assured of the alacrity with which the soldiers would follow him to avenge their murdered hero. But he declined with grateful acknowledgments these proffered services, and straightway crossed the sea with only a few attendants. His movements were planned with the utmost caution, so as to avoid notice and disarm suspicion. Instead of making for the usual landing-place of Brundisium, he reached the shore at Lupia, an obscure town in the neighbourhood, lying out of the high road. Here he could remain

[1] Vell. ii. 59. Compare the newly discovered fragment of Nicolaus of Damascus, ci. 16.

for a short time unobserved, collect his information, and mature his plans.

He resolves to claim the inheritance.

Arrived on the coast of Apulia, the young adventurer soon learnt more accurately the real state of affairs. Copies of the will and of the decrees of the senate were forwarded to him, and armed with these documents he boldly assumed the designation of Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus, and presented himself to the garrison of Brundisium as the adopted son of the great imperator. In thus acting, he resolutely waived the hesitation of his mother and the earnest dissuasions of his stepfather Philippus: they had reminded him in vain that his uncle, after subduing all his foes, had perished by the hands of his nearest friends. The warning, indeed, sank deeply into the mind of the young aspirant, and impressed upon him the solemn conviction that the sword can do but half the work of a successful revolution. But when they urged him to rest satisfied with the obscurity of a private station, and renounce his splendid inheritance of peril and preeminence, he pondered their counsels and deliberately rejected them. And it is difficult, placing ourselves in his position, to pronounce a harsh judgment on his ambition. The security that was promised him he felt to be illusory. His lot was cast in an age of revolution, in which Cæsar's nephew must be the mark for all the bolts of fortune. The fearful alternative was manifestly forced upon him: he must grasp Cæsar's power to secure himself from Cæsar's fate.

He is warmly received by the veterans in the south of Italy.

At Brundisium the veteran cohorts received the appeal with acclamation. Octavius's next step was to transmit to the senate, to the liberators, and to Antonius, his solemn claim to the promised inheritance. In the prevalent confusion of ideas and dereliction of principles, a legitimate claim met, as usual in such cases, with general indulgence. Men turned away from the

mere pretenders to power, and fixed their eyes upon one who stood upon a natural and prescriptive right: they did not steadily contemplate, nor distinctly conceive, what the extent of his claim was, which could not, in reality, be confined to the private inheritance. But the aspirant disavowed all political views; his manners were ingratiating; his language was specious; his position seemed so precarious that every one who engaged with him might presume that he was conferring an obligation: the gods themselves seemed to espouse the cause of the orphan, and his progress was accompanied by palpable signs and portents. The party of Octavius swelled as he advanced. In the first days of his return to Italy the stripling student sprang himself from boyhood to maturity.

He has an interview with Cicero, on whom he makes a favourable impression.

With a prudence and moderation beyond his years, Octavius repressed the zeal of the veterans who flocked to him, and offered to avenge under his command the slaughter of their old general. He declined even their proferred escort, and contented himself as he slowly advanced westward, with the attendance of a few adherents. In the meantime he was feeling the pulse of the cities and colonies on his route, and diligently comparing the result with the accounts which daily reached him of the posture of affairs at Rome. Thus he arrived at Naples on the eighteenth of April, and in the neighbourhood he met and conversed with Cicero, who was filled with joy at the prospect of a new rival to Antonius.[1] Octavius flattered him with the fairest professions of regard and veneration, and expressed himself with moderation, and even respect, towards the liberators. His immediate attendants, as Cicero with some alarm remarked, gave him the name of Cæsar; but not so

[1] Cicero, *ad Att.* xiv. 10, 11., written April 19, 20., from his villa at Puteoli.

the more reserved Philippus.[1] The veteran patriot shuddered at the ominous designation, and already feared that the fiercer counsels of his associates would spoil the young man, and lead him into mischief in spite of his better nature.

Antonius avoids meeting him.

The twenty-first of April was the festival of the Parilia, an epoch of great interest in the career of Julius Cæsar; and while he yet lived, certain of the nobles had undertaken to do him honour by providing for the cost of the customary shows.[2] They now shrank from their promise, and the young claimant of Cæsar's inheritance, informed of the circumstance by his agents while yet at a distance, ordered the exhibitions to proceed, and pledged himself to defray the expense. He continued to advance slowly and with rare circumspection. At Tarracina he halted a few days. The Consul Antonius was absent from Rome, and avoided meeting him when he arrived at the end of the month. By this time all the city was eager to behold the youth, of whom it was affirmed that he was about to declare himself Cæsar's heir. The hearts of the populace warmed towards him; the nobles, in their hatred of Antonius, and their hope of detaching from him one whose path he had so directly crossed, were not less eager in their favourable prognostics. The young man's demeanour, resolved and imperturbable, was felt as an augury of success. The appearance of a radiant effulgence about the sun on the morning of his entry into the city was readily embraced as a fortunate omen: it interpreted to men their own hopes and inclinations, and coloured their anticipations with the hues of the rainbow.[3]

He enters the city with favourable omens.

[1] Cicero, *ad Att.* xiv. 12. (April 22.): "Cæsar . . quem nego posse esse bonum civem."

[2] Dion, xlv. 6.

[3] Liv. *Epit.* cxvii.; Suet. *Oct.* 95.; Vell. ii. 59., and all the authorities.

The omens which are said to have attended upon the career of distinguished personages have in most cases been first invented, or at least first remembered, after their distinctions have been acquired. We can seldom feel assured that such supposed divine intimations have really been observed before the event which has appeared to fulfil them. The fidelity of such accounts can be but imperfectly tested, even by the most general and unanimous consent of authorities. There is perhaps, however, no recorded omen more strongly authenticated than this. The phenemonon itself may be easily explained by natural causes; the coincidence may not be peculiarly striking; but if it did actually occur as mentioned, and was really observed at the time, and interpreted as we are told it was, it becomes important as a genuine agent in the development of events. For undoubtedly, in the superstitious temper of the times, such a belief must have been a potent instrument in effecting its own fulfilment. But the history of Octavius's omens is the history of his life. From infancy to youth, and from manhood to the hour of his death, his career, if we may believe the narrative, was closely attended by these celestial ministers. On the morning of his birth, when the senate was occupied with the investigation of Catilina's conspiracy, his father Octavius, detained by the domestic event, had arrived late at the curia: it was solemnly attested that on that occasion Nigidius the astrologer, having inquired the cause of the delay, and ascertained the hour of the birth, declared that the Lord of the World was born. Some months later the father consulted the oracle of Sabazius in Thrace regarding his child's fortunes, and the priests returned a similar response. The prodigy which revealed the wondrous fact was the same which had witnessed to the destiny of Alexander the Great, and of no other mortal besides.

Real effect of the omens which are said to have accompanied Octavius's career.

Throughout the infant's tender years similar portents were affirmed to have been observed; the frogs ceased from croaking at his command, an eagle returned to his hand the bread it had snatched from his grasp. The gravest of the senators, the illustrious Catulus, dreamed of his future honours two nights successively; Cicero saw the King of Gods and Men place a scourge in his hand, while yet he was unknown either to Catulus or to Cicero by sight. Cæsar was moved to adopt him as his son by a portent which he observed on the field of Munda. In the camp at Apollonia he consulted with his friend Agrippa the soothsayer Theogenes. Of Agrippa, who was the first to inquire, the sage predicted a great and wonderful destiny; Octavius, vexed and apprehensive of a less favourable response to himself, at first hesitated to disclose his own nativity; but no sooner had he been prevailed on to name the auspicious hour, than Theogenes leaped from his seat, and fell on his knees and worshipped him. Such were among the recorded indications of his future greatness.[1] Some of them at least may have been really observed; the youth of the future heir of Julius Cæsar may have been made conspicuous in the eyes of his countrymen, as the centre to which many mysterious intimations converged. Undoubtedly such intimations were carefully noted and remembered in those times; any real indications of genius or fortune formed a nucleus for stories of the kind to gather round. It is not improbable that superstition was already on the watch for the success of the new candidate for pre-eminence, and guided towards him the vague anticipations and floating presentiments of the day.

Octavius entered Rome. His friends and relatives once more pressed him to withdraw his claim to administer to his uncle's testament; but their instances

[1] These and other prodigies are mentioned by Suetonius, *Oct.* 94, 95., and Dion, xlv. 2.

were urged in vain. The game upon which he had resolved to stake life and fortune warmed him in the playing. It required indeed wary walking to steer his course between the rival pretensions and intrigues of the various aspirants for ascendancy. Antonius, Lepidus, Sextus Pompeius, were each a candidate for power, while the party of the oligarchs watched them all, and tried with frivolous and futile anxiety to play off one against another. But the senate was the political power to which Octavius first paid his court: he canvassed its members one by one. In claiming the dictator's inheritance, he studiously concealed any ulterior aims. He pleaded filial duty towards an adoptive father, and personal gratitude towards so great a benefactor. His first act was to present himself before C. Antonius, the city prætor, and make the formal declaration required of one who undertook the rights and duties of an inheritance. But it was necessary to obtain the sanction of the people to his adoption, through a lex curiata, and Octavius pleaded his suit in a public harangue, in which he appealed to their Cæsarean sympathies. The nobles were vexed at the tone of this address: Cicero was jealous of the independence already assumed by the youth, whom he had hoped perhaps to attach, at the expence of a little flattery, to the interest of the oligarchs.[1] Cicero wished to see him assail Antonius; while at the same time he would have him surrender tamely the rights which formed the only ground of controversy between them. The fervour and eloquence of the panegyric Octavius uttered on the dictator, unstinted in measure, and full of genuine feeling, went straight to his hearers' hearts. They attributed sincerity to his blunt and broken words, far more than to the elaborate harangue of Antonius; who, in the

Octavius pays court to the senate, and pledges to discharge his uncle's bequests.

[1] Cic. *ad Att.* xv. 2.

midst of his pompous enumeration of Cæsar's good deeds, had omitted to promise the payment of his bequests to the people. Upon this interesting point Octavius had freely pledged himself.[1]

Interview between Octavius and Antonius.

Antonius had been absent in the south of Italy while his rival was slowly advancing towards the city. He seems to have avoided meeting him on his progress; but when he learnt the course which he had decided to take, the consul hastened back to Rome, which he reached about the middle of May, to confront and, as he hoped, to overawe the intruder. Antonius, however, deemed it unbefitting his dignity to seek out so youthful and undistinguished an adversary; he awaited his visit in the gardens of Pompeius. Thither accordingly Octavius repaired, and the interview which ensued revealed to each the full extent of the other's ambition. Octavius began with claiming bluntly, as heir, the sums which the dictator had left behind him: Antonius replied that the money was all spent; that it was not the testator's private hoard, but public treasure; that the will by which Octavius claimed would have been set aside with the rest of Cæsar's acts, but for the interference of Antonius himself. It was unreasonable, he urged, and ungrateful in Octavius to press such a demand upon his benefactor; it was rash in him to assume the responsibilities of a name so hateful to a formidable party in the state. But the other was not to be put off thus. Having assured himself that the money was not to be extorted from the hands into which it had fallen, he boldly declared that he had pledged himself to pay the legacies, and he would raise the sum required from his private resources. Nor was this an empty vaunt. He caused the effects of the deceased to be sold, obtained from his relatives, from

[1] Dion, xlv. 6.

his mother Atia, from Philippus, from Pedius and Pinarius, the surrender of their shares in the inheritance, borrowed perhaps from his personal friends and well-wishers, and thus altogether amassed a sum sufficient to cover the assumed obligation.[1] In this act of politic munificence he was laying the foundation of his future fortunes. Meanwhile the people resented with bitterness the pretences on which the consul withheld the honest executor from his rights, and strove to defraud them of their undoubted dues. The lex curiata, by which the adoption was sanctioned, they would have ratified with obsequious gratitude; but Antonius had gained over some of the tribunes, and by their repeated interference the business was impeded and put off from day to day.[2]

Octavius exhibits shows to which the dictator's friends were pledged.

Cæsar had vowed on the morning of Pharsalia to build a temple to Venus the Ancestress, whose name he adopted that day as his battle-cry. After the victory he had not forgotten his vow: the temple was erected, and a college of priests instituted, to which Octavius himself belonged, whose duty it was to exhibit annual shows in honour of the goddess. But after their patron's death the members of this body either shrank from the expense, or were deterred by fear of offending the patriots; and it was not till Octavius came forward and undertook the discharge of their obligations, that the people enjoyed the gratification their hero had provided for them. Thus once more did the young heir prove himself worthy of his inheritance. But he was not allowed to be at the sole charge of an entertainment which was meant to reflect honour upon the founder. Cæsar's private friends, Matius, Postumius, and Saserna, offered munificent contributions. When Cicero remarked with bitterness that they were sowing the seeds of

[1] Appian, *B.C.* iii. 23.; Dion, xlv. 5.; Plut. *Anton.* 16., *Brut.* 22.
[2] Florus, iv. 4.; Dion, *l. c.*

another civil war, Matius at least could answer that he was Cæsar's friend, and not his partisan. When the duty was urged upon him of preferring his country to his friend, he could again reply that to such a pitch of patriotic devotion his philosophy had never soared. He had always dissuaded Cæsar from entering upon civil war; in the conduct of it he had counselled clemency and moderation: he had never received any political favour from him, and no political intrigue or violence should prevent him from paying honour to him as his friend. The dead could be honoured best by serving his living representative.[1]

Popularity of Octavius

Cicero on his part was trying, with little success, to construct a conservative party among the republicans, which should hold the balance between the Cæsareans and the more violent of the patriots. While Antonius succeeded by intrigue and bribery in strengthening the faction of his personal adherents, those among his former adherents whom his insolence or rapacity had alienated from himself did not on that account draw nearer to the side of the nobles. Hirtius declared himself disgusted with the consul's conduct, and especially with his rifling the treasures his patron had amassed for the public service: nevertheless he allowed that both he and the liberators had equal cause for strengthening their position by arms.[2] Equally afraid of the consequences of success from either of them, he probably hailed, with Pansa, Matius and others, the revival of his old master's policy in the person of a lineal representative. Octavius was urged on by the ardour of these devoted partisans. He now ventured to claim that the golden throne and jewelled crown which the senate had decreed to his father should be exhibited in their proper place at the celebration of

[1] Cic *ad Div.* xv. 27, 28. [2] Cic. *ad Att.* xv. 10.

the festival. The tribunes, instigated by Antonius, refused to sanction this mark of honour, and the knights, if we may believe the account which Atticus sent to Cicero, supported them in this stretch of authority. The consul even threatened Octavius with arrest for so bold an appeal to the passions of the multitude; but there were many men of character and influence upon whom his firmness made a deep impression, and it was not among the populace only that his character and pretensions rose to the highest pitch of estimation. When he contended for the election of one Flaminius to the tribuneship of Helvius Cinna, the people threatened to raise him to the bench himself, though now adopted into a patrician house, and not yet of age to hold the office. Antonius interfered to stop the proceedings, the people would elect no one else, and the vacancy remained unfilled.[1] Fortune favoured the youth who deserved so well of her: during the continuance of the festival of Venus, which lasted eleven days, there appeared a comet of unusual brilliancy, which remained seven days visible. Octavius hailed this auspicious phenomenon as a sign that the great Julius had been advanced to the abode of the gods, and the Roman people readily adopted this interpretation. He was encouraged to erect a brazen statue to the new divinity in the temple of Venus; its head was surmounted by a golden star, the cynosure of court poets in the next generation[2], a symbol which is visible on many coins and gems still preserved to us. The enthusiasm thus opportunely excited demanded the addition of new honours to a name already so renowned: it was decreed that the designation of the month Quintilis, the fifth of Numa's calendar, should be changed to Julius, which

The name Quintilis changed to Julius, and apotheosis of Cæsar.

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 10.; Dion, xlv. 2, 6.

[2] Virg. *Ecl.* ix. 47.: "Ecce Dionæi processit Cæsaris astrum." Comp. Ovid. *Metam.* xv. 847.; Horat. *Od.* i. 12. 46.; Propert. iv. 6. 30.

it has borne throughout the civilized world to this day, and a special ritual was appointed for the worship of the demi-god, the first whom the senate had translated to Olympus since the apotheosis of Romulus.[1]

Brutus and Cassius shrink from public affairs.

During these proceedings, big as they were with the fate of the republic, the names of the principal liberators have vanished from the page of history. They shrank so closely from the current of public affairs that it was generally believed that they had fled from Rome, on the occasion of the first disturbances which attended Cæsar's obsequies, and the murder of the unfortunate Cinna. If they did indeed quit the city for the moment, it would seem that they soon returned to it. They were there certainly in the middle of April; but Cicero, who alludes to their presence there, laments that they found themselves compelled to avoid observation, and undoubtedly they refrained from the public exercise of their functions. It was probably on the renewal of public riot under the auspices of the pretended Marius, that they made their final escape from the city. Their first retreat was Lanuvium, in its immediate vicinity. Decimus, who was at least a bold soldier, still kept the post of danger. The Cisalpine province had been assigned him by Cæsar; the senate had confirmed his appointment: but the consul forbade him to assume it, threatening him with the vengeance of the Roman people, who, he declared, were so infuriate against Cæsar's destroyers, that not one of them could remain in safety at Rome.[2] Decimus now deemed it prudent to succumb to this arbitrary dictation. He conferred indeed with Hirtius, who assured him that the rumours of popular fury were exaggerated, and

[1] Stat. *Sylv.* 1. 24:

"Primus iter nostris ostendit in æthera Divis."

[2] See the letter of Decimus to Brutus and Cassius (Cic. *ad Div.* xi. 1.), written in April.

that the consul was aware that he could not maintain his own power in the state if any one of the patriots was in a condition to wield an imposing military force. Decimus however hesitated to defy the consul's menaces: he looked around him for support against the new tyranny, but he distrusted Sextus and Bassus, the Pompeian leaders, and declared that he would only in the last resort join his forces with theirs. He would have been content, so despondent was he, with the means of making an honourable retreat: with this view he solicited the mere semblance of public service abroad for himself and his associates. Antonius promised to procure him the *legatio libera;* but even this trifling favour he contumeliously delayed, until Decimus resolved at last to consult his safety by open flight. He declared that he would retire from public life, and seek a retreat in Rhodes or some other quiet asylum, where the dignity of his self-banishment might at least be respected. This resolution was given out perhaps as a blind; at least he was not constant to it. Immediately after the date of the letter in which he announces it, we find him in his Cisalpine government, where he had placed himself at the head of the forces of the republic, and hoped to derive powerful aid from the municipia and colonies, with some of which Cassius had intimate relations.[1] But the province was devoted to Cæsar: neither the troops nor the provincials were disposed to attach themselves to their new proconsul. So near the gates of Rome, where there was as yet only one legion under arms for the consul's protection, Decimus dared

Decimus assumes the the government of the Cisalpine.

Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 13. (April 19.): "Quamvis tu magna et mihi jucunda scripseris de D. Bruti adventu ad suas legiones." Comp. *Philipp.* iii. 15., v. 13, x. 5.; *ad Div.* xii. 5. Cicero's vehement assertions of the good feeling of the provincials were hazarded to encourage the senate. They do not seem to have been borne out by the result.

not make the single stride which should confront him with his enemies. He amused himself in this agony of the commonwealth with making incursions into the valleys of the Alps, and chastising marauders on his frontiers. To his associates he might pretend that the booty he thus obtained, the spoils of rocks and snows, was necessary to content his soldiers, ill-paid and half-fed from the resources at his command. But his real object was the puerile ambition of aspiring to a triumph. He wrote to the senate to solicit the honour of a supplication, the first step towards the attainment of his desires, and he called upon Cicero to exert his influence on his behalf.[1] But these dreams were dispelled by the events which followed.

Brutus and Cassius linger in the neighbourhood of Rome.

While Trebonius proceeded to his government in the province of Asia, and Cimber assumed command in Bithynia, the leaders of the late conspiracy remained in the neighbourhood of Rome. It was ever the weakness of the chiefs of the oligarchy to believe that at bottom the populace of Rome was loyal to the old constitution, and only required time and rest from the agitation of contending factions to recover a healthy tone of obedience to its natural heads. At the same time they still clung to the hope that Antonius would maintain the cause of good government against the anarchy which in their view threatened general ruin. They brooded with sullen satisfaction over their late desperate deed, which they trusted would at least deter him from aspiring to similar pre-eminence. Upon Dolabella they relied more confidently, as the ancient foe and recent rival of his actual colleague. In Octavius they beheld at least another pledge that the commonwealth would not be surrendered tamely into Antonius's hands; and they did not look beyond

[1] Cic. *ad Div.* xi. 4.

Antonius for any possible pretender to supreme power. Flattered by these hopes they made no attempt to strengthen their own hands against the contingency of civil war; and though some towns of southern Italy, such for instance as Puteoli and Teanum, chose them for their patrons, they carefully abstained from any hostile movement to ensure their personal safety, or secure their peaceable succession to the governments to which they had been appointed. The law indeed forbade the prætors to be absent from the city, where their judicial duties were unremitting, for more than ten days. Yet Brutus and Cassius, unable to obtain security for their persons in Rome, were compelled to linger outside the walls. Of course they had no right to enter the provinces assigned them before the expiration of their year of office. Antonius proposed to take advantage of this dilemma. He summoned the senate for the first of June. The self-exiled prætors consulted with their friends whether they should present themselves before the assembly: the continued influx of the veterans seemed to render their public appearance in Rome more perilous than ever. Their advisers, however, were divided in opinion. Cicero approved, but shrank from the responsibility of counselling the bolder course. At last they applied to the consul to discover whether they could be secure in the city, and though his answer is not known, we may conjecture that it was not such as to encourage them: for though a matter affecting their personal interests was debated in the sitting which followed, they did not choose to exhibit themselves. The senate had been left without leaders, and struggled helplessly in the consul's toils. He determined to push his advantage, and secure the government of an important province with the command of a powerful army. Syria and the conduct of the Parthian war were the greatest prize the commonwealth could offer:

but this his enemies would have strained every nerve to withhold from him. He instigated Dolabella to claim it. The senate resisted languidly and irresolutely, and the tribes granted it to Antonius's instances. Immediately afterwards he obtained for himself Macedonia, of which his opponents were less jealous, as the great army there assembled was destined for the Eastern frontier, and therefore must slip, as they supposed, from his hands.[1] Antonius, however, as we shall presently see, had another stroke to play. Meanwhile these provinces, promised to Brutus and Cassius, were lost to them almost without an effort. It was in vain that the senate had confirmed the acts of the dictatorship. It was now discovered that Antonius meant to respect them only so far as they served his own purposes, and the senate could only bow to the interpretation he chose to affix to its decree.[2] On the fifth of June, these new appointments were followed by a further decree, which assigned to Brutus and Cassius, in compensation, the charge of providing the city with grain, with authority for that purpose in certain districts on the coasts of the Mediterranean.[3] It is remarkable that the manifest violence and injustice of this measure should have elicited no indignant condemnation from the writers who record it. Cicero indeed alludes to it as a mark of the senate's approbation, and while he admits that

Antonius obtains Syria for Dolabella and Macedonia for himself.

[1] Appian, *B. C.* iii. 7, 8.

[2] Antonius, according to Appian, ventured to declare that the confirmation of Cæsar's acts was meant only to satisfy the people at the moment, and not intended to be fully carried out in all respects. Appian, *B. C.* iii. 22.

[3] I speak thus vaguely because of the strange discrepancy in the provinces named. Cicero, in a letter of the period, distinctly mentions Asia and Sicily (*ad Att.* xv. 11. 20.), while in his *Philippics* (ii. 38, xi. 12,) he assigns Crete to Brutus. Appian asserts that Cassius was to have the Cyrenaica, which was in fact included in the same government with Crete. The arrangement, whatever it was, was never executed.

so inferior a charge is not equal to their high deserts, only laments that they should seem to owe it in some degree to the favour of Antonius.[1]

Cicero's interview with the liberators at Antium.

Cicero draws the veil from the fluctuating counsels and impotent complaints of the liberators themselves at this crisis, in a letter to Atticus. The day after this important decree had been made, he went to meet them at Antium, where they were then sojourning. Brutus was well pleased to see him. He was surrounded by a group of friends; among them were his mother Servilia, his wife Porcia, and Tertulla his sister, the wife of Cassius, who took an active part in their debates.[2] Favonius, who had refused to participate in the assassination, had come to aid the assassins with his advice. Cicero counselled them to undertake the charge assigned them, of which they had just received intimation. He considered that it would at least ensure their personal safety. Cassius hereupon put on a swaggering martial air (such is the description of the narrator), and vowed that he would not go to his appointed province, he would not accept as a boon what was intended as an insult.[3] What then would he do? asked his adviser. He would betake himself to Achaia, a province full of devoted Pompeians. And whither would Brutus proceed? To Rome, if Cicero advised it. *No,* replied the other, *by no means; you would not be safe there. . . . . But if I could be safe there,* returned Brutus, *would you then be satisfied? . . . . Yes, indeed,* said Cicero; *I should rejoice that you should neither go now to a province, nor next*

[1] Cic. *Philipp.* ii. 13.; *ad Att.* xv. 9.

[2] Tertulla had recently recovered from a premature delivery Cicero lamented her being delivered of a still-born child: "Tertullæ nollem abortum; tam enim Cassii sunt jam quam Bruti serendi," *Ad Att.* xiv. 20., written on the 11th May. The letter in which this scene is described (*ad Att.* xv. 11.) is dated June 9.

[3] Cic. *l. c.*: "Fortibus sane oculis Cassius, Martem spirare diceres."

year, after the expiration of the prætorship: but I decline advising you to trust yourself in the city. And he went on to explain the grounds of his apprehension for the liberator's safety in Rome. Thereupon they began one and all to cry out, lamenting and complaining, Cassius above all the rest; harping upon the opportunities they had let slip, which meant, doubtless, their neglecting to put Antonius to death as well as Cæsar; and accusing Decimus of want of spirit and activity in his province. *I, for my part,* says Cicero, *exhorted them to refrain from comment upon the past, though I felt as they did about it. And when I began to tell them what I thought they should have done,*—so soon had he forgotten his own sage advice,—*yet there was nothing new in it, nothing but what every one has said over and over again,— nor did I hint that any one else ought to have been put out of the way,—but only that the senate should have been convened, the zeal of the people inflamed, the whole power of government seized and wielded,—when I began to say this, Servilia exclaimed she had never heard counsel so bold and spirited from any one!* Cicero checked, it seems, her untimely indignation. Brutus and Cassius appeared thoroughly ashamed of themselves, and were now disposed to acquiesce in the appointments decreed them. They only hesitated about the charge of provisioning the city, which they deemed beneath their dignity: Servilia undertook to exert her influence with Cæsar's friends to get them relieved from it. And so the writer congratulates himself on having discharged a painful duty, and given his final advice to friends whose utter want of sense, foresight, and method, made him already despair of their success. Nothing more, he says, remains for him but to fly far away, where he may *hear no more of the acts and fame of the Pelopidæ,* a name which, to the learned Roman, symbolized a dynasty of tyrants.

Their vacillation and imbecility.

Such is the lively narrative of one who claims to have been the principal actor in this interesting scene. After making every allowance for the vanity of the writer, who strives, even in his most private correspondence, to represent himself as the conductor of every affair in which he participates, and for his restless anxiety to excuse himself for shrinking from espousing openly a cause he deemed hopeless, still it is impossible not to read, in this curious document, the utter condemnation of the patriot chiefs as men of conduct or energy. They had assumed the part of statesmen and heroes; but their policy was merely to snatch at any proffered advice; their spirit displayed itself only in puerile sullenness or tardy recrimination. For the first time in the history of Rome we discover a group of female politicians in counsel with the statesmen of the republic. Of Porcia, indeed, we have already heard, that in courage and resolution she was at least equal to her husband. But in the voluptuous intriguer Servilia, the matron who first debauched the youth of Cæsar, we were not prepared to discover the most decided and vigorous counsellor of the whole conclave. The maternal authority which, as many years his senior, she is said to have exercised over her half-brother Cato, bespeaks doubtless a strong mind, to which we may attribute the influence she wielded through life over her illustrious lover.[1] Even in his later years he had continued to pay court to her. She had obtained from him several confiscated estates, and among them still kept the Neapolitan villa of Pontius Aquila[2]; and her engagement to get the terms of her son's appointment altered evinces a thorough

[1] Asconius *in Scaur.* p. 19.: "Servilia apud Catonem maternam habebat auctoritatem." As mother of Brutus, who was only ten years younger than Cato, she must have been considerably older than the latter.

[2] Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 21.: "Multa ὑποσόλοικα. Pontii Neapolitanum a matre tyrannoctoni possideri."

confidence in the ascendancy she still possessed over his adherents even after his death. Connected as she was by the nearest ties both with Brutus her son, and Cassius her daughter's husband, she threw herself unreservedly into their interests after the fatal deed, and seems to have striven in vain to nerve their courage and invigorate their policy. Among the ribald stories of the day was one that, in the decay of her own charms, she had surrendered to her gallant the virtue of her daughter Tertulla [1]: there is at least much stronger evidence to attest her devotion to her son, that gallant's assassin.

Brutus and Cassius were still reluctant to quit Italy. The scheme for removing them to a distance proved abortive; they pretended to make preparations for undertaking their new commission, but they continued to linger on the coast of Latium and Campania, watching events, and waiting upon fortune. Their ulterior plans were wholly undecided. They were anxious to make one effort more to win the favour of the urban populace, and this they hoped to do through the spectacle of the Ludi Apollinares, which it was the business of Brutus, as city prætor, to exhibit. During the interval they flitted from place to place; from Antium they returned to Lanuvium, thence repaired to Anagnia, and finally awaited in Nesis, an island of Baiæ, the result of their last manœuvre. The games were exhibited at the charge of Brutus; but, in his absence, his colleague C. An-

Brutus exhibits the Ludi Apollinares.

[1] Suetonius (*Jul.* 50.) quotes a jest of Cicero as his authority, and is copied by Macrobius, *Saturn.* ii. 2. The daughter's name was properly Junia Tertia. Her death at a very advanced age is recorded by Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 76, A.D. 22. Servilia's first husband M. Brutus was slain B.C. 82. She afterwards married Junius Silanus (consul B.C. 62), and her daughter by him may thus have reached her hundredth year A.D. 22. Servilia herself seems to have been the Ninon of antiquity. She must have been several years older than Cæsar, and accordingly between 60 and 70 years of age when her admirer was still lavishing upon her the spoils of the Pompeians.

tonius presided alone. Brutus had spared no cost in engaging players for the theatre, and providing wild beasts for the arena. He was so far successful in his object as to elicit the applause of the spectators. But this empty acknowledgment of his efforts to please had lost its ancient significance.[1] The Roman people had been too grossly pampered with playthings and amusements to feel any real gratitude to their interested entertainers. Meanwhile, to the horror of all true patriots, the seventh day of the month Quintilis, that for which the exhibition was announced, was now first publicly designated as the Nones of Julius[2]; and Brutus might resent the stratagem of his colleague, who substituted a play of Accius on the insipid theme of Tereus and Philomel, for the stirring drama on the banishment of the Tarquins, which the descendant of the republican hero had been careful to bespeak.[3]

The republicans are encouraged by the successes of Sextus Pompeius.

Appearances at Rome were not sufficiently favourable to encourage the hopes of Brutus, or of Cicero, who had now joined him. The neighbourhood of Rome, perhaps the whole extent of the peninsula, was becoming daily more unsafe. Violence was apprehended from the legions of Macedonia, which it seems were expected to cross the water, and suddenly throw themselves upon Italy. The liberators had assembled a number of vessels, under pretext of sending them abroad for grain. With these they now proposed to put to sea.[4] Cicero, who had also resolved to retreat,

[1] Cicero (*ad Att.* xvi. 2.) complains, "Pop. Rom. manus suas non in defendenda republica sed in plaudenda consumere."

[2] Cic. *ad Att.* xvi. 4.

[3] Cicero says indeed (*ad Att.* xvi. 2.), "Delectari mihi Tereo videbatur (Brutus);" and we may suppose that there would be many passages in the drama of a republican poet on such a subject reflecting on tyranny. A modern audience might apply the story of Tereus to the usual career of successful usurpation, which first debauches the press and then cuts out its tongue.

[4] Cic. *ad Att.* xv. 12.

would gladly have availed himself of their convoy, for the waters of the Mediterranean were again infested by pirates[1]. Wretched, however, as was the prospect of affairs at home, one gleam of satisfaction reached them from the success which, as they now learnt, was attending the arms of Sextus Pompeius. Though the young adventurer was contending avowedly for his personal interests, and had merely sworn not to disband his forces till he were repossessed of the patrimony of his house,—though his brother Cnæus long before had discarded his family connexion with the cause of the oligarchy, —yet the diversion which his valour was making in the West might aid the progress of the good cause in the opposite extremity of the empire. Sextus, after making his escape from the field of Munda, had concealed himself in the country of the Lacetani, in the eastern Pyrenees, where his father's memory lived in the hearts of the people no less than in the trophy he had erected on the mountains.[2] From these defiles he had descended with a band of devoted followers, as soon as the victor had withdrawn the greater part of his legions from the peninsula. Asinius Pollio had been left in Bætica with a force inadequate to suppress this new revolt. Sextus had gained over the cities of the south, one by one, and the news of Cæsar's death gave an impulse to the success of his enterprise, already crowned with a brilliant victory and the supposed slaughter of the rival commander. With a force amounting to six legions, he had now the whole Iberian peninsula in his power. He knew, however, that the consuls would not let this noble province slip thus easily from their hands. Lepidus was assembling a large army to wrest his conquests from him; he was probably pressed for money, and was therefore disposed to

[1] Cic. *ad Att.* xvi. 2.

[2] Dion, xlv. 10.

try the effect of negotiations. He boldly demanded a general disarming on all sides, and the patriots, denuded as they now were of the military resources which Cæsar had promised them, might look with equal satisfaction to a peace concluded on these terms, which would place them once more on a level with their enemy, or to the alternative of renewed hostilities, with so powerful an auxiliary at their back.

Cicero shrinks from the approaching contest. His melancholy anticipations.

Cicero, indeed, while he foresaw that civil war was inevitable, and indulged a hope, from the imposing attitude of Sextus, that its result might yet be favourable to the cause of the republic, had fully resolved in his own mind to decline any share in the contest. He had never ceased to regret his participation in the Pompeian counsels in Epirus; the mortifications his self-love had there experienced had deeply impressed him; his life had been threatened by the vehemence of Cnæus, and he was little disposed to waste his sage advice upon a brother not less violent and unreasonable. But a change, he felt, had come over the character of civil conflict. He would no longer be permitted to maintain neutrality. The studies to which he had recently abandoned himself with more devotion than ever, had unnerved him for the duties of the camp; but they would meet with no indulgence from the ferocious gladiators who were now about to rush into combat. From Cæsar and Pompeius, the urbane and the lettered, to Antonius and Sextus, the selfish and the savage, was a great and melancholy change. Nor did Cicero feel that his independence would be respected even by some of the chiefs of the patriots, such for instance as Cassius and Decimus. He had little confidence in the loyal professions of Hirtius and Pansa, the consuls elect, whom he knew to be still sincerely attached to the memory of the dictator, and almost

prepared to draw the sword against his murderers. The mortifying conviction was now forced upon him, that the murder of Cæsar was a fruitless exploit. That the tyrant was slain, that freedom had been signally avenged, was a bitter satisfaction, and one who could so entirely renounce all gratitude for the favours he had sought and obtained from the victim, might still continue to disguise from himself the baseness and treachery of the deed [1]; but every day made it more and more evident that the perpetrators of the crime knew not how to profit by it. Self-banished from Rome, where his voice was powerless and his person in danger, Cicero wandered from place to place, seeking perhaps to divert his mind by change of scene. In the course of two months we hear of him successively at Tusculum, at Lanuvium, at Fundi, at Formiæ, at Sinuessa, Puteoli, Pompeii and Neapolis. But neither the promenade on the beach at his marine villas, nor the sunny hills and wide prospect of his inland estates, could divert his thoughts from the dangers which beset him on every side. The charming coast of Baiæ and Neapolis was frequented in the summer months by the Roman nobles, and Cicero was distressed by the crowds of aristocratic loungers, who invaded his solitude and marred perhaps his visions of neutrality. Yet in the lowest depths of his despondency, he could find one sure refuge from disquietude in the composition of his immortal dissertations. With these he consumed the hours of inaction which hung heavy on his hands; with these he indemnified himself for the business of the forum and the senate-house, in which he had vainly hoped that the tyrant's overthrow would have opened a new and splendid career to a champion of the gown. His treatises on Old Age, on Friendship, on Glory, and

[1] Cic. *ad Att.* xv. 4.: "Gratiosi eramus apud illum, quem Di mortuum perduint."

on Fate, took their high spiritual tone from the mental discipline under which they were now written. Their author had attained a frame of mind more nearly approaching to religious resignation than under any previous afflictions. From his letters at this time we learn that his judgment of others was more charitable, his confidence in himself less overweening, and his prospects on the whole calmer. We may now believe him when he avows that life is become indifferent to him, that he flies from the centre of affairs, not from apprehension of danger, but to maintain his name untarnished. He is old in years, and ripe in reputation, and all he wishes is to retire from the stage with dignity. Athens, the home of the afflicted, *the city of the soul*, is the place to which he could now most cheerfully betake himself. Besides the classic attractions of the land of Greece, it was there that his son was at the moment studying. The first wish of his heart was now to cherish the sentiment of paternal affection. In the wreck of his private fortune, which partook of the general embarrassments, he is still solicitous to maintain his child suitably to his rank and expectations.[1] But in abandoning Italy he took leave of the most intimate of his friends, and when he heard that Atticus had shed tears at their parting, he declared that had he but witnessed this manifestation of tenderness, he might perhaps at the last moment have relinquished his intended journey.

While the foes whose opposition would have been most formidable to him were thus removed from the centre of affairs, and seemed only to await for an opportunity of retiring from Italy with honour, the plans of Antonius had been ripening. He was not

[1] Cic. *ad Att.* xv. 15.: "Id etiam ad dignitatem meam pertinere, eum non modo liberaliter a nobis sed etiam ornate cumulateque tractari."

satisfied with the province of Macedonia, which he had already extorted. He wanted the government of the Cisalpine, from which he might keep one hand stretched almost to the gates of the city. At the same time he coveted the command of the legions destined for the Parthian war, six legions without a general, for the service of whose swords several competitors were already suing.[1] They were the flower of the forces of the republic, and the quarters in which they lay, on the coast of the Ionian gulf, were within sight of Italy. Could he transport these soldiers to Ravenna, the commonwealth would lie at his mercy; the Rubicon had ceased to be a barrier against so docile a pupil in the art of military usurpation. He had already gratified his colleague Dolabella by obtaining for him the province of Syria. To this command the conduct of the Parthian expedition would necessarily attach; but Antonius was determined to wrest from his rival's hands the forces destined for this purpose. Accordingly he caused advices to be forwarded to Rome, importing that the Getæ, to the north of Macedonia, had crossed the frontier, and were committing depredations upon the colonists and provincials. Upon the strength of this alarm the consul demanded of the senate a military force to chastise the marauders. He gave out that the dictator himself had proposed to postpone his vengeance upon the Parthians to the pacification of this frontier; and he urged further, that there was no immediate danger in the East, where the conquerors of Crassus were content to repose upon their laurels. Dolabella was persuaded to accept of a single legion, and allow the transfer of the remaining force to his colleague; the senate was wheedled into consenting to it, notwithstanding that the emissaries it sent to inquire into the state of the province de-

Antonius intrigues to obtain the government of the Cisalpine, together with the legions destined for the Parthian war

[1] Cic. *ad Att.* xvi. 7.

clared that they met with no traces of the supposed invaders. They reported, however, that though the Getæ had not really penetrated across the border, they might be expected to do so, as soon as the legions were withdrawn.[1] It was decided that these troops should not be despatched to Syria. They remained in their old quarters, and Antonius could now send his brother Caius to assume the command of them. This point gained, it would be easy to summon them to Italy when the time for employing them should arrive.

Baffled by the senate he effects a hollow reconciliation with Octavius.

The assurance that the consul was intriguing for an exchange of his province alarmed the senate. Communications were held with Decimus; he was put on his guard against the machinations in progress against him, and exhorted to hold his own against the enemy. What could not be extorted from the assembly of the nobles, Antonius contemplated obtaining from the people. If the senate refused to submit the appointment to the comitia, he knew that it dared not resist an appointment which the comitia should itself decree. But the people, whom he had so long amused or coerced, were falling under the influence of a rival. Octavius, sheltered behind the name of the great Julius, had aimed many covert blows at the consul's popularity. Antonius had irritated many of his supporters by the measures of repression which had won him the acclamations of the senate; the protection he had extended to the assassins, and his extenuation of their crime, his neglect to discharge the dictator's legacies, and still more his allowing another to make up the sum from his private funds, had

[1] Appian, *B. C.* iii. 25.: "εἴτ' ἀληθὲς εἴθ' ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου διδαχθέντες. This writer accounts for the yielding of the senate by supposing that Antonius introduced at this time his decree for the abolition of the dictatorship. This had undoubtedly taken place before. We may presume that the consul bought its acquiescence by some other concession.

placed weapons in his adversary's hands, which he wielded with a vigour and adroitness beyond his years. Antonius had not only insulted Cæsar's heir, he had threatened him. Octavius took advantage of this ebullition of temper to surround his own person with armed attendants, and he paid his court the more assiduously to the veterans, by glowing harangues in praise of their lamented chief, and in defiance of the consul who had hesitated to avenge him. Even the officers of the consul's body-guard responded to these stirring appeals. Honoured and enriched as they had been by their new master, they could not renounce the memory of earlier obligations. They surrounded their imperator with clamorous importunity, urging him, for their sakes, for his own sake, to abstain from his contumelious disparagement of their common benefactor. Antonius felt the ground shake beneath his feet. It was necessary to conciliate his own supporters; it was not less necessary to make terms with Octavius. The young upstart had become an important political character. Accordingly the veteran intriguer made the requisite overtures, and a conference between them resulted in a pretended reconciliation.[1]

With his assistance he obtains from the people an exchange of provinces.

His position thus opportunely strengthened, the consul no longer hesitated to apply to the people for an exchange of provinces. He desired that Macedonia should be transferred to his brother Caius, the Gaulish provinces to himself. The paltry forays with which Decimus had indulged his legions in the Alpine valleys might have screened him from the imputation of hostile intentions against the government at home; but it suited Antonius to charge him with preparing to attack the Cæsareans, and assert the cause of the tyrannicides with arms; and he urged the recall of

[1] Appian, *B. C.* iii. 28—30.

the Macedonian army to Italy, for the defence of the commonwealth itself. The senate was agitated and perplexed. For a moment it threatened to interpose with the tribunitian veto. A warier and more statesmanlike method of defeating the intrigue indirectly was suggested. It was now for the first time proposed to admit the whole of the Cisalpine Gaul within the bounds of Italy; and thus place it with the rest of the peninsula, under the direct control of the central government. Such an arrangement would obviate the danger which threatened the freedom of the state from the immediate vicinity of a military commander. There would no longer be a proconsular army quartered within ten days' journey of Rome. Such a measure, however, was too bold and vigorous for the grasp of the feeble assembly before whom the idea was now broached. Upon one statesman in Rome, and he the youngest of all, it made the impression it deserved. Octavius felt at once the full importance of such a change in the relation of the province to the metropolis, and when the time and opportunity arrived to turn it to his own advantage, we shall see that he did not neglect it. Now, however, when a motion was made in the comitia for transferring Gaul to Antonius, he exerted himself in its favour, and prevailed on the tribes to sanction it. The policy of wresting so much power from Decimus, the avowed enemy of his house, might naturally dispose him to this course. He was moreover desirous of founding upon it a claim to the consul's services on no distant occasion. The tribunes, corrupted by a skilful application of the dictator's treasures, abstained from interposing; and Antonius seems to have required no further pretext for ordering the embarkation for Italy of the Macedonian legions.[1]

It is difficult to disentangle the order and dates of

[1] Appian, *B. C.* iii. 30.

this series of events from the confused narratives in which they are recorded. I presume that the exchange of the provinces was made in the month of July. The legions did not reach Italy, as we shall see, till the beginning of October; but to put in motion a large force long quartered in distant cantonments is always a work of time, and requires a full military chest, which, doubtless, was wanting. Antonius, meanwhile, assured of such an overwhelming force behind him, could view the intrigues of the republicans without alarm. The prætors, Brutus and Cassius, had demanded a formal release from their obligation to residence in Rome. While they proposed to undertake the discharge of their commissions abroad, they would not relinquish the advantage of their position as prætors in the city. They now required the consul to summons the senate to pass this decree in their favour: and when he named the first of August for its assembling, they addressed urgent solicitations to the gravest and most influential of the order to attend. Fear of personal violence, a sense of insulted dignity, disgust perhaps at their own insignificance, had driven many consulars and men of authority to retire to their country seats. They returned, however, on this solemn invitation, and assisted, no doubt, in carrying the object for which the prætors had desired their presence. The sitting was rendered remarkable by a furious invective pronounced against Antonius by Calpurnius Piso, the dictator's father-in-law. Connected with both the principal parties in the state, he had hitherto trimmed between them. His sudden attack upon the consul's policy was hailed by the republicans as a symptom of reaction. But when Antonius replied with equal acrimony, the courage of the senators quailed, and Piso found no supporter. Neither Brutus nor Cassius had ventured to appear. They rejoined indeed, some days afterwards, with a

Brutus and Cassius obtain leave of absence from Rome.

fierce but impotent manifesto.[1] They declared that if they judged it necessary to defend the commonwealth with arms, the consul's menaces should not deter them. They bade him remember not how long Cæsar had lived, but how briefly he had reigned. But Antonius knew that they durst not confront him in the senate, and treated their bravado with not unmerited contempt.

Cicero, as we have seen, had quitted the shores of Italy, leaving it to be understood that he should return by the first of January, when the new consuls would commence their year of office. As long as Antonius remained at the head of the government, he could not hope to effect or to witness any good, but he looked for the commencement of a new and happier era under the administration of upright and honourable men, such as Hirtius and Pansa, although they too were Cæsareans. But it was not permitted to the patriot statesman to forsake the commonwealth at the consummation of her long agony. He had embarked from his villa at Pompeii about the middle of July, in company with three other vessels, and coasted as far as Rhegium, landing more than once, on his route, to visit friends. From thence he crossed the straits to Syracuse, which he reached on the first of August. Anxious to avoid whatever might excite the jealousy of his enemies, and in Syracuse the prosecutor of Verres believed himself too popular to be able to linger there without arousing suspicion, he remained in the island a few days only, and was proceeding on his voyage direct for the coast of Greece, when adverse winds twice drove him back on the promontory of Leucopetra, near the extremity of the Bruttian peninsula. Here he was greeted with the rumour that Brutus and Cassius, whom he had left at Nesis, were about to

Cicero embarks.

He is driven back to Italy.

[1] This document is preserved in the collection of Cicero's correspondence (*ad Div.* xi. 3.). It is dated August 4.

come to a friendly understanding with Antonius. The senate, it was announced, was summoned for the first of August, and the republicans were expected to muster in strength. His informants went on to assure him that his presence was much desired in Rome, where his flight had been made the subject of some harsh animadversion. Whatever danger there might be, and danger there undoubtedly was, in returning, Atticus reminded him that he had published to the world his deliberate sentiments, that to die for one's country is the most blessed of deaths.[1] It was too late for him to attend the expected meeting, nor had he perhaps much hope of a favourable result: but Rome had still its imperishable attractions for the patriot who had once saved it, and, with many a solemn foreboding, he turned his steps once more in the direction of the city. On his way he fell in with Brutus and Cassius at Velia. From them he learnt the issue of the deliberations of the first of August, the defeat of Piso, the prostration of the republican party: they spoke with resignation of their own misfortunes, and when he declared his resolution still to proceed, they cheered him on his road to martyrdom. The time, he felt, had come to obtain a crown of immortal glory, and he had no other object in life but to leave it with honour. On the thirty-first of August he re-entered the city, determined to abide whatever fate was in store for him, and never again abandon the post to which duty, honour and affection conspired to bind him.[2]

and resolves to return to Rome.

[1] Cic. *ad Att.* xvi. 7., written August 19.: "Scripsisti his verbis, veni igitur, tu qui εὐθανασίαν, veni. Relinquis patriam?" Atticus may have had in his eye the passage in the *Tuscul. Quæst.* i. 45.: "Sed profecto mors," &c. Billerbeck, in loc. Or possibly the treatise on Glory, which is lost, may have supplied the allusion.

[2] Cic. *l. c.* Compare *Philipp.* i. 3, 4.

CHAPTER XXV.

Cicero re-appears in the Senate, and attacks Antonius.—The Philippics.—Antonius repairs to the Cisalpine, and prepares to dispossess Decimus.—Octavius arms for the republic.—Cicero exhorts the Senate to declare Antonius a public enemy.—The Senate negotiates with him, and he rejoins with increased insolence.—Hirtius and Pansa succeed to the consulship, A.U. 711.—Hirtius leads an army against Antonius.—Cassius obtains successes in Syria.—Trebonius is destroyed by Dolabella.—Pansa joins his colleague.—Two battles are fought before Mutina.—The Consuls are victorious, but are both slain. (A.U. 710, 711. B.C. 44, 43.)

THE acclamations of the nobles and the populace which greeted the illustrious consular, on his appearance before the gates, gratified but could not reassure him. Antonius had summoned the senate for the morrow, and as soon as he heard of Cicero's arrival he invited him particularly to attend. But he was preparing all the thunders of his eloquence to launch upon the head of the public enemy, and had not yet forged the bolt. At the last moment he had perhaps not quite determined upon his course, and still called Antonius his friend. The consul's offences were not yet quite inexpiable. Accordingly he staid away from the sitting. To the consuls and senate he feigned sickness, and the fatigue of his late journey; to his friends he pleaded his disgust at the divine honours which he expected would be paid to Cæsar. There was some formal business to be transacted: supplications were to be decreed to the gods for certain public successes, and Cæsar's name would be invoked among the Roman divinities.[1] He wished rather to

Antonius inveighs against Cicero in the senate

[1] Cic. *Philipp.* i. 6.

be attacked than attack. Antonius was the first to draw the sword. In his address to the senate he inveighed furiously against the cowardly absentee, and threatened with his usual rude violence to send workmen and demolish the house on the Palatine, which the citizens, after its first destruction by Clodius, had erected to their unworthy idol. After this ebullition of malice and defiance the consul left the city to indulge himself in revelry at his Tiburtine villa.

Cicero delivers his first Philippic in reply.

One of the consuls had thus quitted his post; but the other was still in Rome. Dolabella convened the senate again in the temple of Concord for the following day, to deliberate on the state of public affairs. This was the spot where Cicero had delivered the most effective of his harangues, on the day which witnessed the condemnation of Catilina's accomplices. The place and its associations nerved him now with the courage of his younger and more hopeful days. The insults flung upon him by Antonius had stung him to the quick. He rose before the assembled senators, and proceeded in the first place to explain and vindicate his own conduct, both in abandoning the city and in returning to it. Refraining from any allusion to the tyrannicide itself, he began his retrospect of affairs with the meeting in the temple of Tellus. He showed that all parties had at first combined for the common good. If he claimed for himself the merit of having proposed the amnesty, he allowed Antonius the praise of having accepted it, and given his own son as an earnest of his good faith. The liberators, he said, were satisfied, the decrees of Cæsar were respected, the citizens were reassured, the noble and the good approved. Up to this point the acts and demeanour of Antonius had been mild and conciliatory: he restored no exiles, he conferred no immunities, he abolished the dictatorship; no whisper did he yet breathe of Cæsar's posthumous demands. The senate had been

justly charmed, and had issued a decree in grateful acknowledgment. But the consuls had gone still further in the same honest course. They broke up the riotous assemblages in the forum, they proscribed the pretended Marius. It was not till the first of June that Antonius had changed his conduct. From that time all his actions were in strong contrast with the policy which he had already stamped as true loyalty. He ceased to consult the senate, and carried his measures through the comitia of the tribes. He recalled whom he would from banishment, made what laws he pleased, appointed his own creatures to place and office, and pleaded the will of the dead tyrant for every act of selfish and venal policy. The liberators were frightened from the city, the veterans were incited to sedition, and fed with hopes of a new revolution.' Then at last had the orator consented to retire from Rome for the remainder of the year, intending to return with the commencement of the new consulships; for he did not expect that the usurper would deign to convene the senate again during his term of office. Cicero then detailed the circumstances of his leaving the shores of Italy, and of his speedy return. He praised the gallantry of Piso, once his bitterest enemy, on the first of August; and now, he said, he had come forward to echo Piso's protest, and if any harm should befal him, to leave this crowning monument of his patriotism. The senate listened with admiration. The applause which thundered from its benches warmed his blood, and redoubled his energy. Dolabella himself, on whom he had heaped many fulsome compliments, was not displeased at being favourably contrasted with the colleague he secretly detested. When indeed Piso had attacked Antonius to his face, the same recreant audience had cowered under the consul's fierce reply: and now too, had he been present to defend himself, it would doubtless

have shrunk from supporting Cicero's invective. But this second attack was better timed. Antonius had not deigned to listen to it: the field was open to the assailant; he declaimed with all the boldness of a man who has no fear of contradiction, and his declamation sank deep into the minds of favourable hearers.

Characteristics of the first Philippic.

The series of speeches against Antonius which Cicero composed in the course of the following months is known by the name of the Philippics, a title first given them perhaps by the orator himself in allusion to the harangues of Demosthenes against the tyrant of Macedon.[1] They pretended, like their immortal prototypes, to be the last indignant assertion of a country's freedom against a daring aggressor. In this first speech, however, Cicero still kept some terms with his enemy. He seemed to feel his ground before committing himself irrevocably.[2] The declamation is directed entirely against the consul's policy; his personal habits and views, a moderation very unusual with Cicero, are left untouched. He is denounced as dangerous to the state, but he is not defamed as a disgrace to humanity. In this respect the first of the Philippics differs widely from the second, and generally from those which follow.

Antonius rejoins.

After the lapse of some days Antonius returned to Rome: in his Tiburtine retreat he had learned the

[1] It is only in the letters to Brutus (ii. 4.), which are universally rejected as spurious, that this title is put into Cicero's own mouth. In an early letter to Atticus, however (ii. 1. A.U. 694), he alludes to the Philippics of Demosthenes, and expresses a hope that his own Catilinarian and other orations may be known by the name of "Consulares." It is not unlikely therefore that he gave the designation of Philippics to his Antonian invectives, as Plutarch (*Cic.* 48.), asserts, and that the fabricator of the *Epistolæ ad Brutum* was guided here, as elsewhere, by a genuine tradition.

[2] Cic. *Philipp.* v. 7.: "Locutus sum de republica minus equidem libere quam mea consuetudo, liberius tamen quam periculi minæ postulabant."

unexpected spirit with which his last attack was rebutted. After due deliberation he had framed a rejoinder, and on the nineteenth day of September he delivered it in a speech to the senate. It was a virulent invective against his enemy's whole political career, and accused him of the murder of the Catilinarians, the assassination of Clodius, the rupture between Cæsar and Pompeius. It strove to unite against him the hostility of every faction in the state, and above all it denounced him to the veterans as the real contriver of their hero's destruction. Cicero again was absent: his friends dissuaded him from appearing before the armed bands with which Antonius overawed debate. The two gladiators were destined never to meet on the same arena. They continued to wage the war of words, but they never saw each other again alive.

Quarrel between Antonius and Octavius. Rumours that Octavius had conspired to take his rival's life.

The reconciliation however which had been publicly avowed between Antonius and Octavius was not long maintained even in outward seeming. The city was filled with rumours, propagated, as was generally surmised, by the consul and his friends, that Octavius had suborned assassins to take his rival's life.[1] It was in vain that considerate people reflected that the consul's life was of great importance to the younger and weaker of the competitors for Cæsar's succession, inasmuch as it was only by authority such as his that the republicans could be kept in check.

[1] Suet., *Oct.* 10.; Plutarch, *Ant.* 16.; Appian, *B. C.* iii. 39.; Dion. xlv. 8.; Seneca, *de Clem.* i. 9. Cicero alludes to the rumour, and insinuates its truth (*ad Div.* xii. 23.): "Prudentes et boni viri et credunt factum et probant:" but he is evidently trying to encourage his correspondent Cornificius, by representing the precariousness of the consul's power; and after all he cannot help admitting that it was generally disbelieved. Appian also throws suspicion upon it. In the recently discovered fragment of Nicolaus (*vit. Cæs.* ci. 30.), the story is told more at length, but no new light is thrown upon it. Nicolaus's life of Octavius is an unqualified panegyric of his hero, and is evidently compiled entirely from Cæsarean authorities.

Octavius vehemently protested his innocence; but men's minds remained fretful and unsettled, and all ears were open to receive tales of scandal against those in power, and all mouths to propagate them. Antonius was in reality far more disturbed by the advices which reached him of the doubtful disposition of the legions he had summoned to Italy. Both the legionaries and the disbanded veterans resented his remissness in the pursuit of Cæsar's murderers. He left Rome for Brundisium to put himself at their head. Octavius was constrained to arm in his turn. He visited the colonies in Campania, which had pressed their services upon him, five months before. He collected among them a force of ten thousand men, by the lavish donative, as was reported, of two thousand sesterces a-piece. But they were neither equipped nor officered as regular troops; and the arrival of such a ferocious rabble alarmed the citizens of Rome, who knew not which most to deprecate, a bloody contest between the rival leaders in the streets of the city, or a combination between them to oppress and plunder it. This turbulent soldiery, however, had not surrendered their independence, or lent themselves as blind instruments to the caprice of their leader. As Octavius drew near to the city, Canutius, one of the tribunes engaged in his interest, harangued the people against Antonius, and denounced him as aspiring to the tyranny. He exhorted them to accept the services of the only patron who was at the head of an armed force for their protection; and thereupon he went forth in person to meet the new comer, and brought him into the forum, surrounded by a body of veterans with concealed weapons. In the presence of these supporters the tribunes inveighed a second time against the consul's ambition, and Octavius proceeded to dwell upon the merits of his father Cæsar, and to

Antonius repairs to Brundisium to assume the command of the legions summoned from Macedonia.

Octavius collects forces in Campania.

complain that his cause had been deserted by Antonius. He ended with offering himself as the defender of the commonwealth and the avenger of the murdered hero. But he had gone too far. The veterans had not left their farms to espouse a private quarrel. They would not array one section of the Cæsareans against another. Antonius had been their imperator; he was now the consul of the republic: in either capacity they respected him, and would not draw their swords against his person. They insisted upon the rivals uniting in the common cause. Octavius gave way, at least in appearance. He spoke the veterans fair, thanked them for their loyalty to his father, and while he dismissed with courtesy such as chose to leave him, he loaded with caresses and promises all that remained. By flattery, persuasion, and dexterous management, the whole number was slowly won over. Octavius determined at once to employ them. He marched them forth from the city to the frontier of the Cisalpine. He visited Ravenna and the neighbouring towns in person, expended fresh sums in tempting recruits to his service, and finally appointed Arretium for the head-quarters of his assembled armaments.[1]

While Octavius was thus occupied, Antonius was acting with equal vigour. He arrived at Brundisium early in October, and was there met by four of the Macedonian legions.[2] No acclamations greeted him in their quarters. They were come to avenge Cæsar's murder; he had dallied with the murderers; they bade him mount the tribunal and defend his conduct as best he might. But he failed not to confront the malcontents with

Antonius quells a mutiny among his legions,

[1] Appian, *B. C.* iii. 41, 42. These events took place, apparently, in October.

[2] Cic. *ad Div.* xii. 23. (written October 9.): "Brundisium erat profectus obviam legionibus Macedonicis quatuor." Comp *ad Att.* xv. 13., written October 24.; Appian, *B. C.* iii. 40—45.; Dion, xlv. 12, 13.

the firmness of his great commander. It was not the part of the Roman imperator to defend his own conduct, but to enforce obedience to his commands. He scornfully rebuked their ingratitude for the exchange he had given them from the sultry plains of Parthia to the voluptuous cantonments of Italy. He complained of the ready ears they had lent to the emissaries of a petulant stripling, for so he styled Octavius; he threatened to discover and chastise the most culpable; but he mingled promises with threats, and held out the prospect of a largess of four hundred sesterces apiece, and quarters in the *Happy Gaul*, the fertile Cisalpine province.[1] When the discontent was not thus appeased he demanded the roll-call of the legions, on which the conduct and habits of every private were carefully noted, and of those whom their centurions had branded with censure, he picked out every tenth man for capital punishment. He contented himself, however, with inflicting death upon only a few of them.[2] Nevertheless this act of rigour did not check the progress of disaffection. The agents of Octavius had penetrated into the camp, and contrasted the liberality of their patron with the sordid offers of his rival. The Macedonian legions entertained a personal regard for the young companion of their exercises at Apollonia: they were not, like the disbanded veterans, devoted to the memory of Cæsar alone, and indifferent to the quarrel between his successors. Antonius felt his insecurity. He was obliged to precipitate his measures, and to increase his bribes. Having made some changes among the superior officers, he broke up the whole force into detachments, and directed them to

and despatches them to the frontiers of the Cisalpine.

[1] Appian, *l. c.* χώραν εὐδαίμονα Κελτικήν.

[2] Such is the temperate statement of Appian. Cicero paints the transaction in flaming colours. "He slew three hundred valiant Romans—many of them centurions—before the eyes of his consort Fulvia. Tarquin shed no Roman blood." Cic. *Philipp.* iii. 4, xii 6.

take the road along the coast of the Adriatic, and unite again at Ariminum. Movement and action, he thought, were the surest remedies for their growing insubordination.

He returns himself to Rome and complains of Octavius to the senate.

The consul now hastened back to Rome, the report of the attitude assumed by Octavius adding much to his anxiety. The squadron of horse which accompanied him he left outside the walls; but he entered them with a battalion of infantry, accoutred for battle, and from the formidable array in which they surrounded his dwelling, with their sentries, their watch-words, and their gestures of defiance, it seemed as if they had taken military possession of the city.[1] But scarcely had he entered his house when he was summoned to quit it in haste and alarm. He had convened the senate to hear his complaint against Octavius; but as he approached the curia he encountered the fatal news that one of his legions, named the Martian, had transferred its eagles to his rival. Stopping short, and pondering for a moment on this alarming intimation, a second courier reached him with the further intelligence that another legion had also abandoned him.[2] He recollected himself enough to take his seat in the curia and utter a brief address, to save appearances; he then hastily left the spot and took horse for Alba, whither the deserters had retired, hoping yet to recall them to their allegiance. But the gates of Alba were shut against him, and arrows were aimed at him from its walls. His last resource was to issue a promise of two thousand sesterces to every soldier who still re-

Two of his legions revolt and go over to Octavius.

[1] Cic. *Philipp.* v. 6.: "Unus M. Antonius in hac urbe post urbem conditam palam secum habuit armatos: quod neque Reges fecerunt, neque ii qui regibus exactis regnum occupare voluerunt. Cinnam memini: vidi Sullam: modo Cæsarem . . . non possum affirmare nullis telis eos stipatos fuisse; hoc dico, nec multis, et occultis."

[2] Appian, *B. C.* iii. 45.; Cic. *Philipp.* iii. 8—10. The senate was convened for November 28.

mained firm; and when he had thus raised his bidding to an equality with his competitor, he fixed the loyalty of the legions which had not yet abandoned him.

With the command of the Cisalpine province, Antonius had obtained also the commission to drive out of it any pretender to the government. Accordingly he now summoned Decimus to withdraw, and prepared to expel him by force of arms. He raised his standard at Tibur; the civil war was openly proclaimed, and great numbers of senators flocked to his quarters. The commonwealth lent its sanction to his enterprise. Besides his Macedonian legions, which since the arrival of fresh transports amounted to three, he had another corps of veteran troops under his command, and considerable reinforcements of new recruits. At the same time Lepidus was on his route to Spain at the head of four legions, and the force of Pollio in those parts was estimated at half that number. Plancus commanded three legions in the Further Gaul. These were the forces on which Antonius, it was deemed, might rely in his contest with the republicans. On the other hand, however, the position of Octavius was hardly less formidable. Alba, the stronghold nearest to the city, was held for him, as we have seen, by two veteran legions; he commanded two more at Arretium, and to these a fifth of new levies was about to be added. Though possessed of no ostensible command, no magistracy or office of public trust, still citizens of all classes flocked to his residence, and paid their court to him. He addressed the senate with a well-timed manifesto, and suddenly found himself applauded and caressed by the same men who had just before given their countenance to Antonius. Such was the vacillation, or such the perplexity of the Roman nobles. They would have preferred another leader to Octavius; but even him they were prepared blindly

Antonius prepares to expel Decimus from his province.

The armaments of Antonius, Lepidus, and Octavius respectively.

and eagerly to adopt as a counterpoise to Antonius. Hirtius and Pansa, the consuls elect, chiefs trained to the command of Cæsar's legions, might yet, they fondly hoped, wrest from both the one and the other the affections of Cæsar's veterans. Brutus and Cassius had at last quitted Italy for the East. There was little disguise about their present intentions. They were expected to betake themselves to the provinces bequeathed them by Cæsar, and maintain themselves by force of arms against the proconsuls appointed by the actual government. Dolabella, in haste to secure Syria, had abandoned his post in the city, and quickly followed in their track. Trebonius had already established himself in the government of the lesser Asia, and it was upon his position there that the republican chiefs, who had neither money, nor troops, nor regular authority, to oppose to their antagonist, mainly relied for the success of their future operations. Decimus sullenly awaited the impending attack, but of his various assailants he could not yet tell who first would strike him.

Brutus and Cassius quit Italy, and resolve to seize the provinces originally assigned them.

Dolabella proceeds towards Syria.

Trebonius is established in Asia.

Decimus prepares to maintain his position.

Such was the complication of affairs during the months of October and November. Cicero, meanwhile, was working with feverish activity among the senators and the citizens, striving to build up a strong and consistent party against the pretensions of Antonius. He exhorted and encouraged Decimus; he flattered and caressed Octavius; but in the West he depended chiefly upon the loyalty of Hirtius and Pansa; at the same time his eyes were most anxiously directed to the opposite quarter, and fixed upon the movements of Brutus and Cassius. But it was against Antonius that he concentrated all his energies. He replied to the consul's late rejoinder with his second

Cicero's activity and spirit. He composes his second Philippic.

Philippic, an overwhelming torrent of invective, to which the history of popular eloquence perhaps affords no parallel. The second of the Philippics deserves, on the whole, to be pronounced the greatest of the great orator's harangues; and it is undoubtedly that on which his renown for eloquence rests above all others.[1] The desponding patriot has at length roused himself to declare deadly war against his country's foe. Long had he hesitated, long had he schemed for his personal safety, amidst the ruin which he saw too clearly closing around the commonwealth. But all timid, all wavering, all selfish counsels he now discarded for ever. The attack he had just sustained had lashed him to frenzy. He beheld all his danger, and he resolved to meet it without shrinking. Rome should be saved, or he would perish with her. He had saved her once before, and no man, he believed, could save her now except himself. Or, if he did not really cherish a hope of saving her, he would at least destroy her tyrant with her, and build his own fame upon the overthrow of a personal enemy. The death-struggle to which he had now pledged himself, the fanatic rage he breathed against the object of his hate, the vast interests at stake, the awful scene of murder which had just closed, and the train of proscription, massacre, and civil war, the anarchy crowned by tyranny which loomed in the distance, all combine to invest with solemn interest this divine effort of expiring liberty. *By what fate*, it began, *has it happened, that throughout the last twenty years no man*

[1] Compare the celebrated allusion in Juvenal, x. 125.:

"conspicuæ divina Philippica famæ
Volveris a prima quæ proxima."

Fabricius (*Bibl Lat.* i. 165.) supposes that it is to this speech that Pliny refers (*Ep.* i. 20.): "M. Tullium, cujus oratio optima fertur esse quæ maxima." The second Philippic is, I believe, the longest of the political orations extant Nevertheless, Pliny's phrase is probably an allusion to what Cicero himself said of Demosthenes. Being asked, which of the Greek orator's speeches he deemed the best, "Oh," he replied, "the longest." Plutarch, *Cic.* 24.

has proved himself notorious as an enemy to the commonwealth, but he has also persecuted me? Clodius and Catilina are the two archtraitors mentioned: but where is the name of Cæsar himself? The dictator is denounced in every page as a tyrant and usurper, as the bitterest foe to Rome, as justly slain, as a traitor in whose murder the speaker himself would have gladly borne a part; yet Cæsar had always befriended Cicero, he had treated him with a consideration which he could not extort from his friends in the Pompeian camp: Cicero dared not inscribe Cæsar's name on the list of his personal enemies; but its absence blunts the point of his most indignant sarcasm. The speech proceeds to brand the vices and crimes of Antonius, in the strain of one who has drawn the sword against his adversary and thrown away the scabbard. It may be doubted, however, whether either the personal or the political crimes it imputes to the ambitious intriguer were such as would degrade their perpetrator in the eyes of the Romans. The charges of cowardice are merely puerile. The abilities of Antonius had been judged by the greatest of their statesmen to be of the rarer kind. Cæsar had many excellent captains, but Antonius was the best of his civil administrators. No senator could have been misled by the contrast the orator draws between Dolabella, who served in all his master's campaigns in Egypt, Africa, and Spain, and Antonius, who resided with sheathed sword in the city or made his progresses through Italy with mimes and mistresses at his side. Far too much indeed of this famous invective consists of startling rhetorical points, which could have had no effect upon an audience acquainted with the facts, deeply interested in the truth, and apt to resent an attempt to seduce their judgments. The second of the Philippics, however, was never actually spoken. Cicero had withdrawn himself

The second Philippic was never delivered.

from Rome at the moment of his antagonist's return thither. It was composed in the orator's private chamber, and an acute critic may perhaps discover something in its tone to distinguish it from a speech delivered before the face of the assembly it was intended to convince. Had it been checked and guided by the eyes and voices of an audience, it might have been less cogent, less elaborate, less cumulative, less complete; but it would have gained in practical earnestness and even in immediate effect. In none of his spoken orations does Cicero indulge in such open declarations of hostility to Cæsar: neither senate nor people would have tolerated the direct denunciation of a man of whom after all every class of citizens was justly proud. But in his closet the orator forgot what the shouts of an assembly of his countrymen would have compelled him to remember; and not even the fear of offending Octavius sufficed to check the flow of his genuine sentiments, when he had once taken the pen in his hand.

Cicero had not yet ventured to confront the new tyrant in an assembly which, however it might be moved by the orator's eloquence in his absence, continued in his presence to be the mere echo of his sentiments and registry of his decrees. The second Philippic was the work of a month of enforced leisure, during which its author seems to have been chiefly resident in Rome, but to have refrained from all public action. It was towards the end of October that he sent the completed oration to Atticus, asking his advice whether he should publish it, and desiring him to correct it himself, and submit it to the critical perusal of some common friends.[1] He is conscious that while Antonius still retains his power in the city, it would be madness to provoke him by the

[1] Cic. *ad Att.* xv. 13.: "Orationem tibi misi: ejus custodiendæ et proferendæ arbitrium tuum. Sed quando illum diem quum tu edendam putes!"

publication of such a manifesto; but the defection which had taken place among his legions, and the increasing strength of Octavius's position, encourage him to anticipate a time when it may be safely given to the world, and help to fan the flame of liberty, and restore the gallant liberators to their homes and honours. In the meantime he persisted, notwithstanding the warnings of Atticus and others, in lending all the weight of his influence to the cause of Octavius. Brutus and Cassius were alarmed at this policy. They justly surmised that Cæsar's heir would never surrender the inheritance of dignity and power to which Cicero was thus helping to advance him. Lamentably indeed did he fail in penetrating the young dissembler's character. His easy vanity had been repeatedly misled by the attention paid him by the young. It was an amiable weakness which had already cost him dear, especially in the instance of the younger Curio; and now when Octavius affected to seek his advice, and addressed him as *his father*, the warm heart of the aged statesman yearned at once towards one so graceful in his person, so winning in his demeanour, so apparently helpless and inexperienced. Cicero remembered, too, that Octavius had been born in the year of his own famous consulship, and even on the morning of his deliverance of Rome from Catilina, and his enthusiasm on his behalf was not untinged perhaps with a shade of superstition.[1] At the same time he was encouraged by the rumoured successes of Bassus, who still headed a Pompeian force in Syria; he relied upon the military talents of Decimus

Cicero's mistaken estimate of Octavius.

[1] Plutarch, *Cic.* 44. The *Epistola ad Octavium* of the psuedo-Cicero seems to be a forgery compiled from genuine materials. It purports to be an invective of the disappointed orator after Octavius had falsified his hopes. "Ego, patres conscripti, ad parricidium induxi; ego rempublicam fefelli; ego ipse senatum sibi manus inferre coegi, quum te Junonium puerum, et matris tuæ partum aureum esse dixi."

in the Cisalpine; he hoped to attach to their common cause both Plancus in the Further Gaul, and Cornificius in Africa; and he looked to the succession of the new consuls in the ensuing January for the restoration of legitimate government.

Effect produced by the second Philippic on the senate, the veterans, and the citizens generally.

During the month of November Cicero wandered from one of his villas to another, occupied in correspondence with the republican leaders, and watching the movements of the rival candidates for the favour of the veterans and the legions. Yet even then he devoted every moment of leisure to the engrossing interests of philosophy. In this feverish interval he composed for the instruction of his son his graceful treatise on Moral Duties. But as soon as Antonius withdrew to the protection of his soldiers assembled for the conquest of the Cisalpine, the orator returned to the centre of affairs, and strained every nerve to stimulate both the senate and people to arm in defence of Decimus, and proclaim the invader of his province a public enemy. The moment had arrived for the publication of the second Philippic. The satire came forth from the orator's desk fortified with the warm approbation of Atticus, and polished to the keenest edge by repeated touches of the great master himself. Its appearance was happily timed. The hateful object of the attack had just turned his back; he was constrained to retire from the city by the growing insecurity of his position, and the treachery rife among his own friends. At the moment when his popularity was trembling in the balance, the patriot thundered against it and shook it to the ground. The effect of the pamphlet was electrical. It scared the people from their deferential awe of the claimant of Cæsar's succession. It nerved the senate to defy him with a boldness it had never before exerted. It proved to the veterans under Octavius's banner that he had treated their young favourite with

intolerable contumely. They grasped their swords more firmly, and demanded to be led against him in the name of the senate. The consuls elect, just about to seat themselves in their ivory chairs, were fixed at once in the interest of the senate by the general acclamations which hailed this proclamation of its wrongs. Cicero himself, not unjustly elated with the applause which echoed around him, easily believed that he was now the mediator between parties, and the real though unostensible leader of the republic. For a moment indeed he really swayed the commonwealth, not by the splendour of office or the terror of the imperium, but by the influence of his character and the charm of his genius. It was the noblest, as it was the purest triumph that any Roman citizen had attained since the days of an Africanus or a Camillus. It was the just reward of so many years of self-devotion, and all our painful sense of the weaknesses by which that career had been disfigured gives way, at least for a moment, to the heartfelt pleasure of contemplating it. It would indeed have been distressing had Cicero been permitted to close his day of toil and perplexity without such a gleam of brilliant sunshine to gild its evening. But the sun was rapidly declining towards the horizon, and clouds and darkness were gathering to receive it. Octavius watched it with serene anticipation, assured that its next rising would illuminate his own fortunes, and its beams settle on his own head.

The third and fourth Philippics followed upon the publication of the second in rapid succession. In the absence of both the consuls from the city the tribunes had convoked the senate for the twentieth of December. Some matters of form were to be expedited, and possibly some extraordinary precautions devised for the secure transmission of the supreme magistracy to the consuls elect on the first of the ensuing month. Cicero

The third and fourth Philippics. Enthusiasm of the people.

burst upon the assembly with a freedom and boldness of speech to which its ears had been long strangers. This, he said, was the first day of liberty; on this day, he afterwards boasted, he had laid the foundation of his country's freedom. Presumptuous indeed was such a boast at such a moment. But all that he required for its accomplishment was that the senate should decree its thanks to Octavius, to the veterans, to the legions which had deserted from Antonius, to Decimus, who had pledged himself to maintain the Cisalpine in the name of the senate and people, and to the other faithful governors of provinces. He gloried in this sturdy assumption of authority on the part of the Roman Fathers: it sounded in his ears like an echo from the days of old. He persuaded himself that it would breathe new life into the commonwealth; that it would strengthen the hands of its military defenders, and strike awe into every aspirant to illegitimate power in whatever quarter. When these decrees had been passed, the orator descended from the curia into the forum, and repeated to the people the oration he had just delivered. The citizens, released from the immediate fear of the consul's myrmidons, gave way to their bitter recollection of his severity in repressing their movements, both under the rule of the dictator and since his death. They were prepared to listen to the praises of the young Ostavius, and cared little for the assumption of dignified condescension with which the orator and the senate sought to cloak their need of him. They flattered the speaker by shouting at the end of his address that he had twice saved the state.[1] Cicero indeed had brought both elements of the government into harmony. He watched over them and bade them co-operate for the war which now seemed inevitable. Hirtius was

[1] Cic. *Philipp.* vi. 1.

confined to his house by sickness, and Pansa was never inclined to active exertion [1]; but the zeal and unwearied energy of the brave old consular supplied every deficiency, and arms and troops were rapidly collected under his auspices for the defence of the government. The adversary indeed was not unworthy of the effort. Antonius had learnt the art of war under its ablest teacher, and few teachers had ever had a more able pupil. Dissolute as he was in conduct whenever he could securely indulge his sensual appetites, he had not yet surrendered his judgment or his resolution to the seductions of love and pleasure; and when he burst away from Rome and threw himself into the camp in the depth of winter, he called his soldiers at once to arms, and challenged Decimus to confront him in the open field. When the proconsul shrank from the shock of battle, and shut himself up in Mutina, the strongest fortress in his province, Antonius instantly drew his lines round it, and sate himself down to reduce it by siege.[2]

Antonius beleaguers Decimus in Mutina.

Octavius stepped forward. He made a pretence of consulting Cicero, and then offered to lead his forces to the proconsul's rescue. The senate was alarmed indeed at his danger, but it hesitated to accept the proffered aid. The new consuls expressed with firmness their resolution to maintain the inviolability of the republic; but they still seemed to entertain hopes from mediation, and shrank from the bold and irregular step which Cicero advocated. The new Demosthenes would have had the aggressor denounced as a public enemy: but this was not to be lightly ventured. The province had actually been assigned to him; he had been invited to

Octavius offers to defend Decimus. Hesitation of the senate. Negotiations commenced.

[1] Cic. *ad Att.* xvi. 1.: "In Pansa spes? λῆρος πολὺς in vino et in somno istorum." Comp. *ad Div.* xvi. 27.

[2] Appian, *B. C.* iii. 49.

expel all intruders; he was not without friends in the senate to urge this consideration, and nothing but sheer violence could overrule it. Calenus spoke forcibly for his old comrade in arms, and even Piso recommended moderation. Negotiation was proposed, and many who had least hopes from negotiation, still regarded the interference of Octavius with such jealousy that they were willing to fly to any alternative in preference.[1]

Cicero opposes this proceeding in his fifth Philippic, Dec. 20.

But to any middle course Cicero opposed himself with all the vehemence of his excitable disposition, easily elated with success, and confident in his power to represent in glowing colours the justice of the course he advocated. *Would Antonius have peace?* for so his friends at least had represented: *let him lay down his arms, let him solicit us, let him deprecate war: he shall find no more just arbiter of his claims than myself, though to gain the favour of the evil-disposed he has chosen to make me his enemy rather than his friend.* Such had been the futile reasoning of the foes of Cæsar. He too had been exhorted to dismiss his forces, and trust to the justice of the senate for the redress of his grievances. But what reasonable man had ever expected Cæsar to give ear to such a summons? The declamations of the Marcelli and Clodii had only served to drown the arguments of more intelligent councillors, and precipitate a crisis which was perhaps in any case ultimately inevitable. But to lean to moderation now would be to condemn the votes of the last meeting. Cicero could remind the senate how it had thanked the gallant men who had undertaken to anticipate its commands for the coercion of Antonius. And his character, he contended, was one with which it was vain to treat: his known ferocity,

[1] Compare the speeches of Calenus in Dion, xlvi. 1—28., and of Piso in Appian, iii. 54. foll.

his insatiable cupidity, his avowed determination to give up the city to the plunder of his soldiers, could admit of no parley: negotiation would be interpreted by all Italy as a sign of fear and indecision; no one would inquire what were the terms proposed; the mere avowal that terms had been offered would spread consternation through the land. *Let him retire forsooth from Mutina! let him desist from assailing Decimus! let him by all means withdraw from the province! Surely we are not to entreat him with words; we must compel him by arms.* Having exhausted his invention in representing this necessity by argument and illustration, the orator finally insisted that no embassy should be sent, that there should be not an instant's delay, but the consuls should proclaim a state of tumult, and receive extensive and summary powers for the defence of the republic. All civil affairs should be suspended, every citizen assume the military garb, levies be raised, and no excuse of previous service be admitted, throughout Rome and Italy.

His glowing panegyric on Octavius.

But the most remarkable passage in this earnest appeal was that in which the orator lamented that the elder Cæsar had not preferred at the commencement of his career the approval of the best citizens to his own personal aggrandisement. He had wasted on the frivolous and unworthy multitude the influence which might have ennobled his name for ever. But it was not so, he affirmed, with his son Octavius. The experienced statesman pledged his own knowledge of the young Cæsar's inmost thoughts; nothing was so dear to him as the laws; nothing so venerable as the dignity of the senate; nothing more desired than the applause of the optimates; nothing so attractive as the meed of genuine glory.[1]

[1] Cic. *Philipp.* v. 18.

But all the eloquence, all the logical acuteness, the authority and influence of their veteran adviser, could not bend the more cautious or more interested among his audience to adopt these decisive measures. The honours he proposed for the defenders of the commonwealth were ratified without hesitation: he solicited permission for Octavius to sue for civil magistracies before the legal age, and the dispensation was freely accorded.[1] But after much discussion and intrigue the proposal of Calenus for treating with Antonius was at last affirmed.[2] Three of the gravest of the senators, Piso, Sulpicius, and Philippus, were charged with this commission. They were instructed to state peremptorily the demand of the senate that the consular should desist from his attack on Mutina; and from his camp they were enjoined to repair direct to the quarters of Decimus, and thank him for his spirited and loyal behaviour. Cicero thus baffled by the adherents of his enemy in the senate strove to draw closer the bands which now united him with the people, and hastening to the forum recounted to an excited throng the result of the debate, which had lasted three consecutive days. He exhorted them to remain firm, to hope the best, and to trust to his vigilance for their protection. From their zeal and the vast numbers in which they had crowded to hear him, he augured well of the event. *Many and mighty crowds have I addressed*, he said, *as consul, but none such as I now see before me. And all of you think*

Nevertheless the senate determines to treat.

Cicero harangues the people in his sixth Philippic, circa Dec. 28.

[1] Appian, *B. C.* iii. 51.

[2] Dion, xlvi. 29., asserts that Cicero lost his advantage by allowing himself to stray into scurrilous abuse of Calenus: *αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἀκράτῳ καὶ κατακορεῖ τῇ παῤῥησίᾳ ἀεὶ πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως ἐχρῆτο . . . . καὶ τότε οὖν ἀφεὶς τὸ τὰ δημόσια διασκοπεῖν ἐς λοιδορίας αὐτῷ κατέστη.* Dion's bitterness against Cicero is nowhere more strongly marked than in this part of his history; nevertheless such testimony against him must not be overlooked.

alike, hope alike, and will act alike. Never will the Romans be slaves, whom the gods have destined to be lords of all mankind. Other nations may endure servitude, but freedom is the right of the Roman people.[1] It was easier to rouse an excitable populace than to control the conflicting interests and sordid calculations of an assembly of statesmen. Cicero was intoxicated with the delight of swaying to and fro the passions of the vast multitude before him. He used the people to act upon the senate, and keep it firm in its purpose. He now whispered to his correspondents, with a smile of satisfaction, that he, through life the staunchest bulwark of the aristocracy, had become in his latter days a mob-orator. But he easily suffered himself to be deceived as to the effect of his own restless enthusiasm: or rather perhaps he strove, by desperate asseveration, to blind himself and deceive others, when he declared to Plancus, to Decimus, and to Cassius, that the feeling of the citizens against Antonius was unanimous, and the whole people prepared to rush to arms at the consul's summons: so great is the longing of the Romans, he said, for freedom, so bitter their hatred of the long servitude they have endured.[2]

The new consuls entered upon their office at the commencement of the year, and Hirtius followed the envoys in a few days to the frontier. Though war had not been declared against Antonius, he carried some troops with him, to give more weight to the message of peace on which they were bound. Octavius with becoming loyalty surrendered to the consul of the republic the command of the legions which he had attached to himself. The departure of Hirtius inspired Cicero with new hopes; the zeal he manifested in thus arming, while still

The new consul Hirtius marches to the Cisalpine (*circa* Jan. 1, 711) and Octavius places himself under his command.

[1] Cic. *Philipp.* vi. in fin.
[2] Cic. *ad Div.* x. 3., xi. 8., xii. 1.

languid from recent sickness, was held up to the admiration of the more indolent colleague he had left behind. But the life-blood of the government centred in Cicero's own breast. It was he that encouraged the senate, he that inflamed the people, he that awed the discontented, he that communicated with the officers of the commonwealth in every distant province, and imparted whatever sympathy of views and sentiments existed among them. The records he has left us of his daily life are the history of the times. As letter succeeds to letter, and the long series of the Philippics unfolds itself before us, we are more and more impressed with the energy and versatility of the powers displayed by their author. We feel that he stands alone in the centre of public action, and we see all the policy of the state revolving around him. This short and brilliant interval forms the most glorious epoch of the venerable statesman's career. His studies are now at last put aside; but in his private correspondence we still trace the playful wit, the cheerful hopefulness which never abandoned him, in whatever straits and perils, as long as he could feel satisfied with himself, and knew that he was providing for the applause of posterity. A letter to Pætus, written in the month of February, is a delightful specimen of the pleasant raillery in which Cicero could indulge even at such a moment[1]; but it concludes with a solemn adjuration that he should not be misinterpreted, or supposed, because he thus unbends in the midst of his solicitude for the state, to have surrendered one moment which could have been seriously employed, or one thought which could have been applied with advantage to graver matters.

But events meanwhile were hurrying on with a rapid pace. Towards the close of January the envoys

[1] Cic. *ad Div.* ix. 24.

returned. They had lost Sulpicius by illness before they reached Antonius's camp. That eminent statesman and jurist was the steadiest friend of liberty among them. He loved the laws, the wisdom and equity of which he had been bred to expound. He sank perhaps under the consciousness that his task was hopeless, and that neither zeal, honesty, nor genius, could avail to wrest the drawn sword from the rebel's hand. The answer brought by the envoys to the senate fully confirmed Cicero's worst anticipations; but the pusillanimity of Piso and Philippus in submitting to become the bearers of so insolent a message filled the patriot's breast with indignation and alarm.[1] *It was mere treason. They were sent to convey the commands of the senate; the rebel has obeyed in no single point, and now they have come back with his demands in return.* Antonius, it seems, required the senate to ratify his grants of land and money to the soldiers; to waive all right to examine into his expenditure of the public treasure; to assign to him for five years the government of the Further Gaul, which he was prepared to accept in exchange for the Cisalpine; finally, to confirm whatever he might produce from Cæsar's pretended papers. Antonius was playing the same game as his master before him, but with less specious excuse: he was advancing claims which he knew could not be granted; but it was not like Cæsar, for self-preservation, but merely to gain a few days, by which time he hoped that Mutina would fall into his hands. He forbade the envoys to communicate with Decimus; and when he dismissed them from his own quarters he prevailed upon them to carry to Rome his quæstor Cotyla, and introduce him to the senate to expound and justify his demands.[2]

The envoys return, circa Jan. 31, with demands from Antonius.

[1] Cic. *ad Div.* xii. 4. to Cassius: "Nihil fœdius Philippo et Pisone legatis, nihil flagitiosius."
[2] Cic. *Philipp.* viii. 8.

Cicero was shocked at this miserable compliance: he groaned over the death of Sulpicius and the sickness of Lucius Cæsar. *We are deserted, he exclaimed, we are deserted, O Fathers, by the chiefs of the commonwealth; the consulars have abandoned us to our fate, the very envoys whose return should have revived our confidence, have only thrown us into deeper perplexity and despair.* And then he reminded his hearers of the spirit of the ancient ambassador Popilius, who, when he had delivered the senate's orders to king Antiochus, and the foreigner made excuses for delay, drew a line round him with a stick, and forbade him to step beyond it till he proffered his humble submission.

Cicero expresses his indignation in his eighth Philippic.

Nevertheless the orator would not confess himself dismayed, but still persisted in exhorting his hearers to expect decisive success from a bolder policy. He insisted more urgently than ever that the offender should be declared an enemy of the state. Calenus and his supporters contended warmly against this demand, and even Lucius Cæsar shrank from pressing the matter to such an extremity against his own nephew. It was indeed impossible, after the rejoinder of Antonius, to avoid an armed contest; but his hostile attitude might be designated more mildly as a tumult than a war, the recusant himself might be styled more indulgently the adversary of Decimus than his enemy.[1] But meanwhile the swords of the combatants had already met. Hirtius had acted with promptness and vigour. The consul Pansa read to the senate his colleague's despatch: *he had stormed a post, he had seized Claterna, he*

The senate declares a state of tumult.

Commencement of hostilities between Hirtius and Antonius.

[1] Appian, *B. C.* iii. 63. Cicero (*Philipp.* viii. 2.) maintained on the contrary that the term *tumultus* was stronger than *bellum*. The one properly implied a sudden unforeseen attack, the other a declared state of war.

had driven in some horsemen, he had joined battle, and blood had been shed on both sides. The advantage seemed to be on the side of the government. Antonius occupied Bononia with the greater part of his force, and only a small division was left to watch Decimus in Mutina: Octavius was posted at Forum Cornelii, the modern Imola: except Bononia, Rhegium, and Parma, the whole province was in the power of the republican forces, and assurances were received that the Transpadanes, of whose loyalty some doubt had been entertained, were extremely well disposed to the cause of the senate.[1] The hopes of the republicans were raised, and Cicero seized the moment to propose a statue to Sulpicius, the patriot who had died in the service of his country. The ninth Philippic is a graceful panegyric on the illustrious jurist, and the monument which it urged the Roman people to erect to him remained standing before the rostra through many generations. At the end of three centuries of the peaceful triumphs of law the name and honours of Servius Sulpicius were still associated with this brazen effigy, and possibly it was not forgotten that the eloquence of Marcus Tullius had helped to raise it.[2]

Cassius obtains some advantages in Syria.

While the government at Rome was thus slowly rousing itself to the struggle for freedom, the faction of the liberators was receiving some addition of strength in the Eastern provinces. Cassius had reached Syria, and was arming himself with the diligence of a good soldier against the expected attack of Dolabella: he had attracted to his standard one legion which had main-

[1] Cic. *ad Div.* xii. 5.

[2] Pomponius, in the *Digest*, I. tit. ii. § 43. "Servius quum in causis orandis primum locum aut pro certo post Marcum Tullium obtineret. . . hic quum in legatione periisset statuam ei pop. Rom. pro rostris posuit, et hodieque exstat pro rostris Augusti." Cic. *Philipp.* ix. 7.

tained the cause of the republic under Cæcilius Bassus throughout the period of Cæsar's ascendancy[1]: L. Murcus and Q. Crispus, who held commands on the Eastern frontier, had placed themselves under his orders, and four legions, which Dolabella had summoned from Egypt, had been constrained to surrender to him. Deiotarus, the Galatian chief, offered him the swords of a numerous native army trained in the Roman manner. Cassius found himself early in the year at the head of an imposing force, and his favourable statement of affairs in the East reached Cicero just at the moment when he could employ it with effect to reinforce his own arguments for vigorous and decisive action. At the same time Brutus had been acknowledged by Hortensius in Macedonia as his legitimate successor, and had driven C. Antonius, the rival claimant, into Apollonia, where he kept him closely shut up.[2] He commanded the quæstors to pour into his military chest the tolls and tributes they were collecting for the expenses of the province.[3] With Macedonia both Illyricum and Achaia were determined to the side of the republic.[4] The same cause might count also with some confidence on the support of Plancus in Gaul and Pollio in Spain: for both these officers, though recently attached to Cæsar, had no personal connexion with Antonius, and were known to be waiters upon the winning side.[5] Pollio openly avowed that he longed for rest and yearned after the graceful studies to which he was addicted. He was disposed to throw the weight of his sword into the scale that now seemed the heaviest, for the sake of

[1] Cassius to Cicero, March 7 (*ad Div.* xii. 11.). Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* xiv. 11.; Appian, *B. C.* iii. 11.; Dion, xlvii. 27, 28.; Cicero, *Philipp.* xi. 12.

[2] Cic. *Philipp.* xi. 11.

[3] Vell. ii. 62.

[4] Cic *Philipp.* x. 6.

[5] Comp. Asinius Pollio to Cicero (in the middle of March), *ad Div.* x. 31., and Plancus to the consuls (about the same date), *ad Div.* x. 8.

obtaining, irrespective of men or principles, peace at any price and from any hands.

But the cause of freedom sustained a grave reverse in the loss of a good officer and zealous partisan, Trebonius. Dolabella, as we have seen, had left Rome in the autumn, antici- pating by three months the termination of his consulate, in his haste to possess himself of his province, or rather to amass plunder in the cities on his route. For after quitting Italy, he made, it appears, no expedition to reach his destination, although the attitude Cassius had assumed there must have soon been made known to him. It was not till the commencement of the following year that he crossed over into Asia. He had encountered no open resistance in Macedonia, nor did Trebonius, who commanded in Asia, venture to defy him with arms. But his progress was harassed and impeded, supplies were refused him, and the cities on his route closed their gates against him. Dolabella resented this affront. He took measures to throw the proprætor off his guard, scaled the walls of Smyrna in the night, and caused him to be seized in his bed. When Trebonius begged to be conducted into the consul's presence, he received the taunting reply, that he might go where he pleased, but he must leave his head behind him. Dolabella required the death of Cæsar's murderer. Trebonius, it was remarked, was the first of the parricides who suffered the penalty of his crime, and that within less than a year from the date of its perpetration. With the dawn of day the gory trophy was seen suspended from the consul's tribunal; the legionaries and camp-followers vied with each other in heaping insults on the mutilated trunk, and the head itself was torn down and kicked like a ball through the streets, till no vestige of the human countenance was visible upon it. This bloody tragedy was enacted towards the end of February, at the very time when Cassius

Trebonius is seized and murdered by Dolabella.

was vaunting the prospérous issue of his affairs in Syria. Cicero in his eleventh Philippic amazed and shocked the senate by its recital. He coloured and perhaps aggravated the details, to excite his hearers' indignation. The tortures to which, according to his passionate account, the captive was subjected through two entire days before his head was struck from his body are inconsistent with the statement of a later historian: but the slaughter of a Roman citizen, an officer of the highest distinction, by a magistrate of the republic, the perpetration of the worst excesses of civil war in the midst of peace, sufficed to alarm and enrage the father without any fictitious exaggeration.[1]

Dolabella proclaimed an enemy of the state.

Thus did Cicero's long suppressed bitterness against his son-in-law break out. The imprecations he uttered against him stunned the senate and bowed it to his will. Dolabella was at once proclaimed an enemy of the state, and all the servants of the commonwealth in the province were charged to chastise and destroy him.[2] But he had been formally appointed to the government of Syria, while the attitude there assumed by Cassius was directly opposed to the mandate of the republic. Even Cicero was constrained to admit that Cassius was serving the interests of the Roman people in defiance of their own decree. When Dolabella was solemnly deposed from his office, the question arose who should succeed to it? Of the secret opponents of Cassius some wished to send out P. Servilius, the same who had been Cæsar's colleague in his second consulship; others, among whom was Calenus, that the actual consuls should assume the vacant governments of Asia and Syria. Cicero perceived that Calenus sought to divert the attention of the

[1] Appian, *B. C.* iii. 26.; Cic. *Philipp.* xi. 2. foll.
[2] Appian, *B. C.* iii. 61.

consuls from duties nearer and more urgent: he opposed himself to both propositions, and counteracted them by a bold step, so bold that even Servilia and Cassius's own relations would have dissuaded him from it.[1] The senate he feared might prove intractable: he addressed himself to the people. To them he expatiated on the services of Cassius, who by his promptness had wrested Syria from the grasp of the hateful Dolabella; he hinted that he would not wait for the confirmation by the senate of the charge with which he had, so fortunately for the state, already invested himself; he lauded his determination to act for the public good, and for that alone. Thus he prepared the citizens for the event which he knew was impending. Cassius had resolved to hold his own, and maintain himself in the government he had so boldly seized.[2] He assumed the name and functions of proconsul, and neither waited for the decree of the senate, which assigned the province to the consul[3], nor heeded it when it was made known to him.

Audacity was indeed required to save the republic, if saved it yet could be, in spite of itself. While the senate faltered and allowed the Antonians to hold its bolts suspended, Cicero was fearful of losing his hold upon Lepidus. He had obtained honourable distinctions for the proconsul of Spain, in the hope of securing his services for the good cause; but Lepidus had not

The consul Pansa joins his colleague in the Cisalpine.

[1] Cic. *ad Div.* xii. 7., to Cassius, at the end of March. "Id velim mihi ignoscas quod invita socru tua fecerim. Mulier timida verebatur ne Pansæ animus offenderetur."

[2] The eleventh Philippic urged these arguments on the senate, but they were defeated in that assembly by Pansa. (Cic. *ad Div.* xii. 7.) He proceeds to say: "Quod autem in senatu pluribus verbis disserui, et dixi in concione . . . . promisi enim et prope confirmavi te non exspectasse nec exspectaturum decreta nostra, sed te ipsum tuo more rempublicam defensurum."

[3] This appears from a letter of Lentulus (Cic. *ad Div.* xii. 14.) but the arrangement, as will appear, never took effect.

deigned to express gratitude in return; on the contrary he continued to urge the senate to treat with Antonius, and plied both Plancus and Pollio with insidious representations, tending to cool still more their lukewarm loyalty. It was a moment of deep anxiety to the patriot orator: all his plans and hopes seemed on the point of being frustrated; the fate of Trebonius excited and unnerved him, and with the fear of death and torments before him he demanded for himself and for his country the extermination of the armed oppressors. At such a moment the consul Pansa, moved by the friends, the wife, and the mother of Antonius, sought to avert the horrors of civil war by a second attempt at negotiation. Antonius, he was once more assured, would listen to reasonable terms. The senate, ever ready to shift responsibility from itself, acceded to the consul's suggestion. Four consulars were named to compose the deputation. Cicero himself was included in the list. He wavered and for an instant acceded; in the next, he saw his error, and launched against the base concession the thunders of his twelfth Philippic. With redoubled energy he urged the indignity of discussing the terms of obedience with an avowed traitor. The cruelty of Dolabella had been learned from his master Antonius. It was only a foretaste of the tyranny to which the noble and the good would be subjected, when Antonius, with every scheme successful and every passion inflamed, should enter the city at the head of his unresisted legions. He shrank with disgust from the service the senate would have imposed upan him. Once in the power of his enemy, no laws, human or divine, he was assured, would protect him from his bitterest vengeance. Cicero himself, in the single campaign he had served in early life, had witnessed the interview between Pompeius Strabo the consul, and Scato the general of the Marsians. He remembered the courtesy and

mutual respect with which in those days avowed antagonists could meet in parley. Scato being asked in what relation he deemed himself to stand to the Roman general, had replied with dignified urbanity, *I am his friend by inclination, his foe by circumstances.* But those were honourable men, and honourable times: warfare had then its principles and its laws: in those days noble citizens were not torn from their beds, insulted, tortured, and slain by men bearing the commission of the republic. *Besides,* he continued, *of what service could my treating with the monster be? I have only one word to utter, one reply to make, one condition to require—and he knows it,—Obey the senate.* The assembly seems to have been at last convinced that further parley could only weaken its moral force; and the consul's feeble proposition fell unsupported to the ground. Pansa's levies were now completed, and at the end of March he went forth with four legions to join his colleague and Octavius, and bring the affair which had been suffered so long to linger, to the final decision of the sword. But both the consuls had quitted Rome without celebrating the Latin feriæ, and it was remarked afterwards, if not at the time, that this omission had never yet occurred without fatal consequences.[1]

At first the unfitness of the season for field operations may have retarded the crisis which was impending under the walls of Mutina. Antonius, as the winter advanced, had drawn out the greater part of his troops from Bononia, leaving there only a small garrison, while he strengthened with additional battalions the legions which occupied his lines in front of Decimus. He might hope, by thus pressing the blockade, to reduce the enemy by famine; for Mutina was too

The consuls unite with Octavius to relieve Decimus in Mutina.

[1] Dion, xlvi. 33. Comp. Liv. xxi. 63.

strong to be taken by assault, and the obstacles he had thrown in the way of the senate's declaration of war against him gave him time and opportunity. Octavius watched his operations, but hesitated to attack him. Antonius asserted loudly that he was assailing Decimus as one of Cæsar's murderers, and this plea was not perhaps without its influence even upon his rival's soldiers. Octavius might be deterred from rushing to the defence of one whose crime rendered him so deeply obnoxious to the Cæsarean veterans. He was mortified, moreover, at the vacillation of the senate. He required a formal authorization to assail Antonius as a public enemy, and the senate sought to quiet and cajole him, by sounding titles and empty distinctions. While a reconciliation between the senate and his adversary was still possible, his merit was still dubious and his position insecure.[1] The nobles, he perceived, would gladly have kept both himself and Antonius in check by playing off one against the other, and he already contemplated, no doubt, the turn in the wheel of fortune which should throw them into each other's arms for mutual defence. Nor even when Hirtius arrived were the combined armies at once brought into the field. The paralysis at the heart of the government extended to the hand which it vainly held out to strike. The first active movement on the part of the republican forces was made at the instigation of Octavius. He persuaded Hirtius to seize Bononia, in which enterprise he met with no resistance. The combined leaders then drew near to Mutina, and apprised Decimus of their arrival to relieve him. At first they sought to communicate the intelligence by means of torches affixed to the summits of trees; but as these signals were not understood, a brief message scratched on a leaden

[1] Appian, *B. C.* iii. 64.; Dion, xlvi. 35.

tablet was conveyed across the river by a diver. This mode of communication was thenceforth adopted by both parties within and without the walls.[1]

Antonius replies to Cicero's invectives, and Cicero rejoins in his thirteenth Philippic.

Antonius meanwhile, emboldened by the senate's long indulgence, and confident in the intrigues of his adherents in the city, had replied to Cicero's invectives with an angry and insolent letter. He resented the decree by which Dolabella had been proclaimed an enemy, for pursuing a parricide to the death. He justified and exulted in the slaughter of Trebonius; he vaunted the righteous judgment which had overtaken the assassin within a year from the day of his crime, and appealed to it as a manifest proof of divine providence. He upbraided the senate with conniving at the usurpations of Brutus and Cassius; Decimus he branded as a vulgar cut-throat; Octavius he rudely apostrophized as *a boy*. Alluding to the disaster upon which his opponent was ever most sensitive, he taunted the senate with choosing for its general *the vanquished Cicero.* He sneered at it as a mere Pompeian club, sworn to undo all that the great Cæsar had done, to degrade his name, and honour his assassins. What, he asked with bitter irony, what would become of Cæsar if he could come to life again?[2] To all these charges and insults Cicero replied in his thirteenth Philippic, retorting upon them, one by one, with a flashing torrent of indignant sarcasm, and answering scorn with scorn, rebuke with rebuke, and defiance with defiance. Though the formal denunciation was still withheld, it was now manifest that each party was resolved to provoke the other to extremity, and if Antonius was not even yet declared an enemy of the state, the thirteenth Philippic proclaimed aloud that the government had taken up its

[1] Pliny informs us (*Hist. Nat.* x. 53.), that Decimus made use of carrier pigeons to convey intelligence.

[2] Cic. *Philipp.* xiii. 17.: "Quid faciat si reviviscat?"

position, and planted itself firmly on ground from which it would never recede.

In the consuls' absence Cicero assumes the lead in the city.

During the absence of both the consuls from the city, Cicero had become the real head of the republic. He caused the tribunes to convoke the people, whose enthusiasm he nursed by almost daily harangues; he prevailed upon the armourers to furnish weapons gratuitously, he raised contributions for the public service, and laid his hands heavily upon the property of the Antonians.[1] His diligence, his vigilance and feverish activity bore down all resistance and extorted submission to every demand. The arrival however from Mutina of a false report of the consuls' defeat elated the depressed faction with fresh hopes, and they conspired to seize the Capitol, to murder Cicero, and make a general massacre of the patriot senators. It was intended, apparently, to put some one forward to propose that the dictatorship should be conferred upon the great orator. The Antonians were prepared to take advantage of the odium such a proposition must excite against him, to raise a tumult, and direct it to their bloody purpose. The intrigue was detected and frustrated. Appuleius, a tribune of the people, came forward to vindicate the veteran statesman from the charge busily circulated against him of affecting supreme power; and within three

[1] Plutarch (*Æmil. Paul.* 38.) asserts that the property-tax remitted to the citizens of Rome after the conquest of Macedonia (A.U. 587) was re-imposed in the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa. He refers doubtless to the extraordinary contributions exacted at this time under Cicero's administration. In the disturbed years which followed we shall find similar exactions made by other rulers. (Comp. Dion, xlvii. 14, 16., xlviii. 34.; Appian, *B. C.* iv. 5. 32., v. 67.) But there is no reason to conclude with many writers on Roman antiquities and finance that the tributum of the ancient constitution was permanently re-established at this period. Later writers continued to speak of it as obsolete. See Val. Max. iv. 3. 8.; Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 17.: "A quo tempore pop. Rom. tributum pendere desiit." Comp. Savigny, *Röm. Steuerverfassung*: erst. Nachtrag: ed. 1842.

hours from the conclusion of his speech, to which the citizens had given a most favourable hearing, rumours arrived, exaggerated indeed and premature, of a complete and glorious victory over the common enemy.[1]

On the approach of Hirtius and Octavius, Antonius had broken up from his lines before Mutina, leaving his brother Lucius to watch the town, while with his cavalry, in which arm he was well provided, he operated upon the front and flanks of the advancing forces. Three months passed without a blow being struck. At length Antonius was informed through his friends in Rome that Pansa was bringing up reinforcements; but he was not strong enough to occupy the passes of the Apennines, and the consul met with no opposition till he had nearly reached Forum Gallorum, on the road from Bononia, about eight miles from the beleaguered city. Antonius was aware that his new opponent led four newly raised legions, and he knew the vast superiority of his own veterans over such raw levies. With only two legions therefore, the second and thirty-fifth, he had pushed forward to intercept their progress. He kept his legions in reserve, behind the banks and water-courses with which the flat and marshy country was intersected, while he detached some picked cohorts and a few veterans fron the colonies to draw the inexperienced foe into his ambuscade. But the night preceding, Hirtius, divining the enemy's intention, had despatched one veteran legion, the Martian, together with two cohorts of guards, to his colleague's assistance. The Martians were one of the corps which, incensed at the treatment of the mutineers at Brundisium, had deserted from Antonius at Alba. They

Engagement at Forum Gallorum, April 15. Pansa is mortally wounded.

[1] Cic. *Philipp.* xiv. 6. This is Cicero's own account, and is liable certainly to the suspicion of invention, or at least of morbid imagination.

were full of vengeful feelings against their late commander, and moreover they had no hope of quarter Accordingly, no sooner did they perceive the Antonian squadrons before them, than they rushed forward, overcoming the control of their officers, and hurrying them along in their furious career.[1] Pansa, though taken by surprise, ordered two of his legions to follow in support, and while the Martians thronged the causeway which led to Mutina, these auxiliaries strove gallantly to keep up with their advance, along the rough fields on either side. Antonius rapidly brought up his forces, and fearful was the shock of the collision. The causeway, elevated some feet above the plain, concealed the combatants on either side from those on the other: but the veterans who met in furious conflict upon it were conspicuous to all, and great was the admiration of the new recruits at the steadiness with which they kept their ranks throughout the day, and the grim silence in which they laid themselves to their work. Step by step the Antonians overbore the stout resistance of the Martian legionaries. Pansa, transfixed with the thrust of a spear, was carried off the field mortally wounded. But the rout of his forces was averted by the timely diversion of Hirtius on the rear of the Antonians; a second combat of hardly less obstinacy than the first succeeded; the fresh troops maintained their advantage over the weary victors of a struggle which had already lasted many hours, and Antonius was compelled to draw off his legions before the close of the day. According to one account he passed the

[1] The battle of Forum Gallorum took place on the 15th of April, as appears from the letter of Galba to Cicero (*ad Div.* x. 30.), which begins, "A. d. xvii. Kal. Mai. quo die Pansa in castris Hirtii erat futurus." Ovid errs in placing it a day earlier (*Fast.* iv. 625. seqq.); but it would seem from his notice that the anniversary of the two battles of the 15th and the 27th (see below) was kept on the same day; and as we cannot doubt that he followed the existing calendar, we are driven to the supposition that the real date, as in other instances, was not strictly regarded.

night in the same quarters he had occupied in the morning; but the narrative of a combatant in Pansa's army, which states that he retired to his camp before Mutina, seems the more worthy of credit.[1]

Engagement before Mutina, April 27. Hirtius is slain.

While the news of a great victory was conveyed in a despatch crowned with laurel to the senate, while Pansa was lying prostrate with the fatal wound he had just received, another action took place before the walls of Mutina, with the same chequered result as the former. Hirtius, following up his partial advantage, had sought to draw Antonius forth from his camp to a second engagement, but without success. At last on the 27th of April, by the feint of throwing succours into the town, he forced the besiegers to place themselves in his way. Fearing that Mutina would thus be snatched from his grasp, Antonius allowed two of his legions to take up a position between it and the Hirtians. The combat once begun was sustained by fresh detachments from the Antonian camp, until the whole of the besieging army was engaged. But the battalions thus brought forward in detail fought with less confidence, and at last gave way. Hirtius pursued them even within the lines of their camp, and fell fighting on the very threshold of the prætorium. Octavius coming up to his support carried off the

[1] Galba to Cicero (*ad Div.* x. 30.); Appian, *B. C.* iii. 67—70.; Dion, xlvi. 37. Our first authority is Serv. Sulpicius Galba, the lieutenant of Cæsar, who conducted the campaign in the Alps, Cæs. *B. G.* iii. init. (see Chapter VII. of this history). He became one of the conspirators against the dictator. He describes in a letter to Cicero the battle narrated in the text, in which he held a command in Pansa's army. He had been legatus of the Martian legion. Appian's account is more favourable to Antonius; but this historian exhibits much prejudice against the republicans throughout these transactions, and many of his statements seem totally devoid of credit. In some particulars I have combined the two accounts, which are not altogether consistent with each other. Dion enters into no details, but gives a decided victory to Hirtius: πολὺ ἐκράτησε.

consul's body, and for a moment held possession of the camp. The Antonians however finally rallied, and recovered their position; but the honours of the day remained with the assailants, who had forced their enemy to leave his lines to meet them, and had driven him ignominiously within them again.

The news of a victory reaches Rome. Cicero delivers the fourteenth and last Philippic, April 22.

Hirtius thus fell in the midst of his enemies, and Pansa died of his wounds almost at the same moment; but the news of the first battle, unalloyed by any knowledge of this double disaster, had already entered the walls of the senate-house at Rome. It came most opportunely for Cicero, at the moment when the tribune's interference in his behalf had defeated the machinations of the Antonians in the city, and restored him to the favour of the people, which had been for an instant shaken. The enthusiasm of the citizens towards him was now unbounded. They rushed in crowds to his dwelling on the Palatine, insisted upon his coming forth to them, and then carried him in a kind of triumph to the Capitol, as if, he says, he had been himself the victorious imperator, and thence back to his own house.[1] The day following, the 22nd of April, the senate was convened by the city prætor, M. Cornutus, who in the absence of both the consuls occupied the highest executive office in the state.[2] The despatch of the consul Hirtius was read, and Servilius moved a thanksgiving to the gods for the public victory. It was also proposed that the senate should now lay aside the military garb which it had assumed since the commencement of hostilities. Then arose Cicero,

[1] Cic. *Philipp.* xiv. 5.

[2] The date is fixed by an expression of Cicero, if at least we may adopt a conjectural but very satisfactory reading: "Pridie Vinalia (for per idus Quintiles) qui dies hodie est." The Vinalia was the 23rd of April. See Kalend. Maffei. Prænestin., in Orell. *Inscr.* ii. 388.

and delivered the fourteenth and last of the Philippics: it was fitting that so unparalleled a series of bold and generous declamations should be crowned at last with one song of triumph. The vigilance of the statesman was not laid asleep by the first appearance of success. He deprecated the resumption of the peaceful toga, as at least premature. The military garb had been adopted when Decimus was to be relieved from his besieger, and the victory, splendid as it was reported to be, had not yet effected his deliverance. But he seized with eagerness on the decree proposed by Servilius, as implying more than at first sight appeared. A thanksgiving had never before been voted except for a victory over a foreign foe. Antonius had never yet been formally declared an enemy: but this decree implied it. Cinna and Sulla had gained victories in the civil wars, but no such compliment had been paid to them: Cæsar had won the great battle of Pharsalia, but he had not ventured to demand such a token of public satisfaction. But if the gods were to be thanked for this signal triumph of the Roman arms, if Antonius was to be pronounced, what he had long really been, a public enemy, why should not the victorious generals be addressed with the title of imperators? This again was a title due to the conqueror of a foreign enemy: its adoption in this case by the senate in a formal manifesto would doubly stamp the rebel and traitor as the enemy of Rome. Cicero further proposed that the leaders of the combined armies, the victors of the triple engagement, Pansa, Hirtius, and Octavius[1], should be united in

[1] It must be remembered that this speech was delivered on the report of the first battle, that at Forum Gallorum, and it was a great stretch of flattery on Cicero's part to include Octavius among the generals to whom the victory could be ascribed. Dion says (xlvi. 38.): ἡττηθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ('Αντωνίου) αὐτοκράτορες οὐ μόνον ὁ Ἵρτιος ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ 'Ουιούΐος καίπερ κακῶς ἀπαλλάξας, ὅ τε Καῖσαρ, καίτοι μηδὲ μαχεσάμενος, καὶ ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς

the honours decreed upon this occasion, and that the thanksgiving should be extended to fifty days. He urged the peculiar merits of the Martian legion, which had displayed a valour worthy of its patriotism. He lamented the dead and consoled the surviving friends, in strains borrowed from the famous speech of Pericles to the Athenians, and concluded with expressing the terms of his resolution, not in the dry technicalities of customary form, but in the noblest accents of impassioned declamation. And so terminates the long series of the speeches of Cicero: the fourteenth Philippic is the last that has come down to us, perhaps the last he uttered. Like the rest of its author's harangues, it was bold, vigorous, high-minded, and persuasive; but the victory it celebrated was dubious, the disaster was grave, and the contest had yet to be decided on other fields and with other combinations.

ὠνομάσθησαν. Antonius indeed gave out that his young rival had fled ignominiously in the first battle (Suet. *Oct.* 12.), but there is every probability on the side of Dion's assertion that he took no part in it. It is perhaps to another slander of Antonius's that we owe the statement that Octavius caused the deaths both of Hirtius and Pansa by bribing the surgeon to rub poison into their wounds. But the story is insidiously countenanced by Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 10. Dion also alludes to it, xlvi. 39.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Antonius withdraws from the Cisalpine and effects a junction with Lepidus beyond the Alps.—Octavius excuses himself from pursuing him.—The Senate seeks to cast off Octavius.—Irritation of his soldiers.—He claims the consulship and marches upon Rome.—The Senate gives way.—Octavius consul, Sept. 711.—He joins Antonius and Lepidus.—Decimus is abandoned by his soldiers and slain.—The second Triumvirate.—Partition of the provinces and legions.—The Triumvirs enter Rome.—The proscriptions.—Death of Cicero.—The Republicans collect their forces in the East.—Sextus seizes Sicily.—Antonius and Octavius cross over to Macedonia.—The armies meet at Philippi in the autumn of 712.—Two engagements at Philippi.—Rout of the Republicans.—Cassius and Brutus kill themselves. (A.U. 711, 712. B.C. 43, 42.)

Apocryphal exploit of Ventidius.

THE historian Appian has drawn in this part of his work from sources which were evidently unworthy of implicit credit. The long ascendancy of the Cæsarean dynasty had corrupted the springs of history, and both the reverses of Antonius and the treacheries, as we shall hereafter see, of Octavius, had been extenuated by the authorities to which he was content to refer. We are perplexed by the next occurrence which we meet with in this writer's pages. Among the officers in whom Antonius most confided, both for his zeal and ability, was Publius Ventidius; and at the moment when he was compelled to engage the superior forces which surrounded him, he was expecting succours under this captain's command, drawn from the Cæsarean colonies in the south of Italy, which the want perhaps of money or arms had so long delayed. Appian, always inclined to enhance the successes of the An-

tonians, assures us that Ventidius led these forces, amounting to two legions, to the relief of his patron's adherents in the city, who were groaning under the severe exactions imposed upon them by Cicero. He entered the walls unopposed; the senate, and among them Cicero himself, took flight, and abandoned to their enemy's lieutenant the seat of government.[1] But if we are to believe this historian, this sudden rout of the republican party had no result, and Ventidius quietly marched out of the city again to join his commander beyond the Apennines. Besides the manifest improbability of such an occurrence, it must also be remarked that neither Cicero nor any other writer gives any hint of it.[2] Nor is it possible to find a sufficient interval of time between Pansa's leaving Rome and the battles before Mutina, for the train of circumstances which are said to have preceded and produced this momentary revolution. All that we can depend upon in Appian's account is the statements which other authorities corroborate, that Ventidius marched to the succour of his general with two legions of newly-enlisted veterans; and presently, that finding he could not anticipate the junction of Hirtius and Pansa, or hearing perhaps the disastrous issue of the battles, he turned to the left out of the Flaminian Way, and skirted the southern slopes of the Apennines in the direction in which he hoped to meet the retreating Antonians.

Antonius retires from before Mutina, and makes a hasty retreat across the Alps.

The same writer, whose partiality to Antonius has been thus displayed, would fain persuade us that his hero was on the whole successful in both the engagements before Mutina. So far was this from the fact, that he lost not a moment after the event of the action

[1] Appian, *B. C.* iii. 66.

[2] A solitary passage in a letter to Atticus (Cic. *ad Att.* xvi. 1.), "de Ventidio πανικὸν puto," is too obscure to be cited in confirmation of Appian's statement. There is no allusion to it in Dion, nor in the epitome of Livy.

of the 27th in breaking up from his camp, and striking westward under cover of his numerous cavalry, with which the enemy was unable to cope.[1] Though beaten off from his immediate object, Antonius was far from despairing of ultimate success. Before his second engagement with the consular forces, he had received partial and underhand succours from Lepidus, and he trusted to the ascendancy he had heretofore exercised over that vacillating politician, to gain him over completely, as soon as he should come in personal contact with him. The quarters of Lepidus were fixed in the province. From thence he watched the inclinations and imposed a check upon the movements of Plancus in the Narbonensis, who still hesitated to declare for the senate. Beyond the position of Plancus, and watching his undecided attitude, lay Asinius Pollio in Spain: a chain of posts thus extended from the Alps across the Pyrenees, and a shock imparted to the first link would be communicated along the whole line. Antonius hastened to cross the Alps. His infantry had suffered severely in the late actions, and he did not scruple to recruit it by drafting into his ranks the inmates of the public gaols along his line of march.[2] At Vada, in the neighbourhood of Genua, he fell in with Ventidius and three fresh legions, and the whole force continued its route in two divisions. But his march, though unpursued, was harassed by famine and fatigue. Antonius now displayed the determination of his character, and his capacity of enduring hardships. Fresh from the lap of luxury and dissipation, he amazed his hardiest veterans by the cheerfulness with which he drank the foulest water, and contented himself with the most loathsome food in the laborious passage of the mountains.[3]

[1] Cic. *ad Div.* x. 15, 34.
[2] Cic. *ad Div.* xi. 10.
[3] Plut. *Anton.* 17

Decimus is retarded in his pursuit by the want of cavalry and of money.

Decimus was now released from his long confinement within the walls of Mutina. The forces he maintained there amounted to three legions, perhaps incomplete; but he was exceedingly weak in cavalry, and unprovided with beasts of burden, which doubtless within his beleaguered fortress he had been unable to maintain. He seems also to have been in straits for want of money.[1] All these deficiencies may have contributed to the fatal delay of two days which he allowed to intervene before he set forth in the track of the fugitives. On the day after the second engagement, Pansa, who was still living, begged to confer with him at Bononia, but expired before he could reach him.[2] Decimus distrusted Octavius. As proconsul of the province he assumed authority over him, and directed him to seize the passes of the Apennines, and prevent the junction of Ventidius with his general. At the same time he assumed for himself the duty of occupying the roads which led from Mutina to the Alps, and closing the northern outlets of the province against the retreating enemy. We have seen how Antonius had already escaped out of the net. Neither would Octavius obey the proconsul, nor if he had proposed to do so would his soldiers have obeyed him.[3] They protested against the authority of one of Cæsar's assassins. They declared that they had chosen the dictator's heir as their leader; Decimus they could only regard as an enemy. The want of money still crippled the proconsul's movements; the vanquished could fly much faster than the victors

Octavius declines to join in the pursuit.

[1] Decimus to Cicero (*ad Div.* xi. 10.): "Alere milites jam non possum. Septem legiones nunc alo: qua difficultate tu arbitrare." Pontius Aquila had expended large sums from his private resources in supporting Decimus's troops. Dion, xlvi. 40.

[2] Decimus to Cicero (*ad Div.* xi. 13.).

[3] Decimus to Cicero (*ad Div.* xi. 10.): "Neque Cæsari imperari potest, nec Cæsar exercitui suo, quod utrumque pessimum est."

could advance; Decimus had exhausted his own and his friend's credit, and all the wealth of Varro, as he said, could hardly suffice to extricate him from his embarrassments.[1]

Antonius effects an union with Lepidus in the Transalpine province.

Before the first blow of civil war had been struck at Mutina, Plancus had already crossed the Rhone, expecting to be summoned to aid in crushing the common enemy. He now threw a bridge across the Isère, for the transport of his four legions, with the view of supporting Lepidus, whose position, menaced with a sudden attack from Antonius, had become extremely precarious. But the proconsul of the Transalpine, as he soon discovered, was under no alarm. The old allies were about to effect a new combination. Antonius had played successfully upon the compassion of the veterans under the proconsul's banner, and Lepidus himself, though pretending to be coerced by his own soldiers, was well disposed to take part with the crafty dissembler, who addressed him by the name of father, and doubtless offered to act under him, and acquiesce in the second place in their contemplated distribution of honours.[2] They met with all their forces near Forum Julii. Had Plancus crossed the frontier he would have been crushed by their superior force: his lieutenant Laterensis, whom he had employed to communicate with Lepidus, killed himself in despair at the consummation of the treason. Meanwhile Pollio had contrived to station himself at the furthest corner of his province, in the assurance, as he declared in his despatches to the senate, that no outbreak of civil war was to be apprehended. Before the month of April no vessels, it

Plancus and Pollio shrink from attacking them.

[1] Decimus to Cicero, *l. c.*, from his camp at Dertona, the fifth of May.

[2] Plut. *Anton.* 18. See Lepidus's letter to the senate, *ad Div.* x. 35.

seems, crossed the Mediterranean; and the letters which he sent overland were liable to be intercepted by Lepidus. Even the couriers who were conveying to him the news of the events before Mutina were detained, as he says, nine days by the proconsul in the Trasalpine. Such was the excuse he now made for his avowed want of preparation, and for declining to move towards the theatre of operations. Under such circumstances Plancus hesitated to cross the Isère; he broke down the bridge he had constructed, and called loudly on Decimus, Octavius, and even Cornificius, to come to his succour, and enable him to assume the offensive. But Cornificius was too distant to hear his cries; Octavius refused to listen, and remained unmoved at Mutina; while Decimus kept marching to and fro within the limits of his own province, which he seemed to shrink from leaving, with no definite purpose, except to raise money and make new levies of raw conscripts.[1] Of all the captains of the republic at this perilous crisis, he was the only one on whose fidelity she could securely lean: as one of the tyrannicides, it was with him a question of victory or death, and his steadiness was assured by the necessities of his position. Nevertheless he must be charged with committing a fatal blunder in the conduct of the campaign; while the tone of despondency betrayed to us in his correspondence, as well as the distrust he exhibited towards the government in Rome, indicate a mind unfit to cope with the difficulties around him.

Decimus crosses the Alps and joins Plancus.

At last, when it was too late to deter Lepidus from his treachery, Decimus crossed the Alps and added a force, amounting now to ten legions, of which however one only

[1] Decimus's letters to Cicero are dated successively from Dertona, Statiellæ, Vercellæ, Eporedia, and Pollentia: (*ad Div.* xi. 20.): "Legiones armo, paro: Ego nisi valde necesse fuerit ex Italiâ non excedam."

had seen service, to the army of Plancus.[1] They had suffered severely, it seems, in the passage of the mountains; at all events they were dispirited by the consciousness of their inexperience, and of the fatal consequences of their leader's delay. The hope of aid from Octavius waxed more and more faint. Plancus openly denounced him to Cicero, as having postponed the defence of the republic to the furtherance of his personal views on the consulship. He accused him of being the cause of Antonius's escape, of Lepidus's treason, of the formidable attitude the two associates had assumed, of all their hopes and all their manœuvres. If Plancus however still clung to the hope that Octavius might yet lend his hand to prop the state, Cicero himself had by this time renounced any such expectation. From the moment he deserted Decimus, the veteran penetrated his views, and was convinced that they were confined to his own aggrandisement From henceforth Cicero declares his dependence to rest upon Decimus and Plancus alone in the West, and he exerts himself with gallant constancy in exhorting and encouraging them to the utmost. But his eyes are wandering towards Macedonia and Syria; and it is from Brutus and Cassius, after all, the leaders of the brave band of patriots, that he expects the deliverance of his country. From Syria the rumour reached him that Dolabella had been destroyed. He hardly ventured to credit it; but it was speedily confirmed. After the murder of Trebonius the ruffian had cast off all disguise. He had declared open war against the rival who preoccupied the province he claimed to govern. He had seized upon the city of Laodicea: but here his career was arrested by a better general

Cicero abandons all hope from Octavius.

[1] Plancus to Cicero (*ad Div.* x. 24.): "In castris Bruti una veterana legio, altera bima, octo tironum."

with a stronger force than his own.[1] Cassius, anticipating the decree of the senate, by which the intruder was formally proscribed, or acting in the spirit of Cicero's counsel,[2] *Be yourself your own senate*, marched against him, stormed the city in which he had posted himself, and drove him to seek death from the hands of one of his own soldiers.

Dolabella attacked by Cassius commits suicide.

The report of this success might sustain the drooping spirits of the republicans in Rome. In the first flush of victory they had not cared to conceal their distrust of Octavius, whom they now deemed unnecessary to them. He had declined to join with Decimus in pursuit of Antonius; his excuse had been questionable, his attitude uncompliant; Cicero himself discovered that he was reserving his strength for personal objects, and avowed that he had been deceived as to his real disposition. Doubtless Octavius read in the bitter spirit displayed against Antonius, an edict of proscription against, not the flagitious consular, but the friend of Cæsar. He lay himself under the same ban, and might expect to be made the next victim. The bearing of the senate towards him had entirely changed. The honours awarded for the first victory had been divided equally between him and the consuls, and Cicero had pronounced his praise amidst the applause of the still trembling assembly; but now that the enemy was a second time worsted, and the victorious consuls had both fallen, it had transferred all its acknowledgments to Decimus, it had decreed thanksgivings in his name only, as if he had been the conqueror on the field of battle, and Octavius the beleaguered skulker behind the walls of Mutina. Of the real victor, the sole survivor at least of the three combined victors of

The senate treats Octavius with contumely, and tries to create dissension among his soldiers.

[1] Lentulus to Cicero (*ad Div.* xii. 14.), from Perga, June 2.
[2] Cicero to Plancus (*ad Div.* x. 16.): "Ipse tibi sis senatus."

those days, no mention was made.[1] It was not against Antonius, whom it no longer feared, but against the possible projects of Octavius that the senate provided in the decree by which it now called Sextus Pompeius to the command of its naval forces, and directed all its officers from the Ionian to the Euphrates, to place themselves at the disposal of Brutus and Cassius.[2] When Octavius boldly demanded a triumph, his application was contemptuously disregarded. The voice of Cicero was silent on his behalf, or if it expressed any recognition of his claims to distinction, the acknowledgment was accompanied by a truculent jest, implying that the young man must be got rid of under pretence of caressing him.[3] Meanwhile every effort was made to detach the veterans from their youthful favourite. The senate treated with them about their pay and promised lands, without noticing their general; and when the mass continued unmoved by these solicitations, attempts were made to sow dissension among them by showering rewards upon some and withholding them from others.

Octavius, supported by his veterans, demands the consulship.

But Octavius, it was reported, had declared that he would take care not to be got rid of. The veterans were discontented with the senate, which had promised them, and especially the two legions which had abandoned Antonius, a gratuity which it had not at once the means of paying. The government appointed decemvirs to contrive a new distribution of lands, by

[1] Cic. *ad Div.* xi. 18.; Appian, *B.C.* iii. 74, 80.; Dion. xlvi. 40.
[2] Dion. *l.c.*
[3] Decimus to Cicero (*ad Div.* xi. 20.), May 24: "Ipsum Cæsarem nihil de te questum, nisi dictum quod diceret te dixisse, laudandum ornandum tollendum: se non commissurum ut tolli posset." The equivoque is untranslateable: it would run in English, he must be *lifted up* and then *taken off*. The story is also preserved by Suetonius (*Oct.* 12.), and Velleius (ii. 62.), and the jest is much in Cicero's style.

which the Antonians should be mulcted for their advantage. But it displayed its spite against their leader by omitting to name him on this commission, and this neglect the veterans resented as an insult to themselves, murmuring loudly against Cicero as its supposed adviser. Octavius fostered the growing spirit of discontent.[1] He was now in secret communication with Antonius himself, and when a peremptory order from the government reached him, to lead his army against *the parricides and brigands*, as they were styled, now combined in the Transalpine province, he replied by despatching to Rome a party of four hundred of his soldiers to demand for him the consulship. He had been already released from the *lex annalis;* so that no disqualification could be pleaded against him on the score of youth; but the senate, which had now the power, as was presumed, of securing the election for its own nominee, sought to parry his claim by delay. The envoys were thereupon instructed to demand an amnesty for the Antonians; and this again was evaded rather than refused. The soldier-ambassadors now lost their temper; they had entered the curia unarmed, but one of the party rushed out to seize his sword, and returning, laid his hand upon it before the astounded senators, with an oath, that if they refused his chief the consulship, that steel should extort it for him. Cicero was the first of the august assembly to recover his speech. *If this be the way*, he said with a sneer, *that you sue for the consulship, doubtless your chief will acquire it.*[2]

[1] Appian, *B.C.* iii. 86.

[2] Plutarch (*Cic.* 45.) asserts that Octavius blinded Cicero by pretending to unite with him to obtain the consulship for the two conjointly, and thus prevailed upon him to assist his canvass, and gain over the senate; of which Cicero, he says, afterwards bitterly repented. Such a tradition must not be entirely passed over; nevertheless I am not disposed to attach credit to it. Cicero had shown his distrust of Octavius before this time.

The words were reported to the candidate, who deeply resented the freedom with which his sinister projects were laid bare, and treasured it up, as was said, for the moment of revenge which was not long in coming. He now advised Lepidus and Antonius of his readiness to combine with them, and invited them to follow him to Rome, whither, still pretending that he was constrained by his own soldiers, he directed the march of his eight legions. The track of this licentious soldiery was marked by rapine and violence; the bands of discipline were cast away; the senate, in its terror, sought to arrest the invasion by bribes. But the Octavians continued to advance; no time was to be lost; an effort was made to check the rolling storm by conceding the consulship to the armed aspirant. But the senate was amazed to find that even this degrading concession now came too late. Thereupon, summoning the ancient courage of the Roman patriciate, the fathers solemnly forbade the legions to approach nearer than within ninety miles: they then assumed the military garb, charged the prætors with the defence of the city, and threw up hasty fortifications on the Janiculan, where two legions, just landed from Africa, were posted most opportunely for their protection.

He marches upon Rome, pretending to be coerced by his soldiers.

The advance of the Octavians was retarded by the lust of plunder in which their leader indulged them, so that time was given for these tumultuary preparations, and as long as the enemy was still distant the citizens acted with promptitude and spirit. But no sooner did he actually appear under the walls than all this ardour vanished. One by one senators and consulars slipped through the gates, and betook themselves to the invader's camp. Even the prætors descended from the Jani-

The senate surrenders to Octavius, and allows him to assume the consulship, with Pedius for his colleague.

culan, and surrendered their legions into his hands. Cicero indeed was among the last to parley. He was received with a bitter sarcasm. The following night, on a wild rumour of a defection among the troops, he resumed his courage and counselled resistance. Orders were hastily given, and expresses despatched into the country for levying troops. Presently the rumour was contradicted, and the senators fled in confusion from the city. Cornutus, a sturdy republican, slew himself.[1] The gates were now thrown open amidst the acclamations of the populace. A remnant of the senate consented to nominate their conqueror; the tribes assembled in the comitium; there were no consuls to hold the election of their successors; some excuse was made to evade the creation of an interrex[2]; the city prætor was deputed to appoint two persons to occupy the place of the consuls, and go through the requisite forms with a mere show of conventional usage. Octavius apparently had himself insisted on this farce being played out. He fulfilled his own part by abstaining from entering the forum, armed as he was, and surrounded with military ensigns. The polling proceeded without interruption, and Q. Pedius, cousin to Octavius, was given him as his colleague, or rather as his lieutenant, in the office.[3]

[1] Appian, *B. C.* iii. 92, 93.

[2] The creation of an interrex might be frustrated by the veto of a tribune, and the fear of such an impediment may have caused this form to be disregarded. Dion says that there was no time: but this could hardly be so (see note below): or that many patricians were absent, and the appointment rested with the patrician houses He is evidently at a loss, and suggests reasons without much consideration of their value.

[3] Dion, xlvi. 45, 46.; Vell. ii. 65: "Consulatum iniit Cæsar pridie quam viginti annos impleret, x. Kal. Octobris: (=22 Sept.)." But Dion makes the election take place August 19.: for he says that Octavius died August 19.: being the anniversary of his first election to the consulship (lvi. 31.). Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 9. We may suppose that the earlier day was that of the senate's decree, the later that of the actual election. Comp. Suet. *Oct.* 31.

This was the twenty-second of September: on the following day the consul completed his twentieth year.

Quintus Pedius had strong claims to this elevation. He was closely connected with the late dictator, as the grandson of his sister Julia. He had served with distinction under his kinsman's banners in the Gallic war. Throughout the civil contentions his sword had been at Cæsar's disposal, and when raised to the prætorship in the year 706 he had done him good service in crushing Milo's insurrection. The merit he displayed in the final campaign against Cæsar in Spain had gained him the honour of a triumph, and a proconsular command. The dictator had named him among his heirs, on the same footing as his grand-nephew Pinarius, reserving, as has been already said, the bulk of the inheritance to his favourite Octavius. Pedius had recently resigned his share of the patrimony to his cousin; and while his own ambition was satisfied with the second place, he zealously aided Octavius to secure the first. The senate succumbed to this last revolution without a murmur. Its only care now was to heap extraordinary distinctions upon the dictator's heir. It decreed prospectively, that when he should have completed his year of office, he should retain, at the head of his legions, precedence over the consuls his successors. It surrendered to him the guardianship of the city, to be administered during his absence by a prefect of his own appointment, and even issued an order to Decimus to transfer the troops he commanded to the new generalissimo of the republic. Cicero and the sturdiest of the patriots had disappeared; all who despaired of forgiveness had concealed themselves; the remnant were cowards and voluptuaries; or secret partisans of Octavius and Antonius; and all

Q. Pedius, grand-nephew of Julius Cæsar.

these vied with one another in abandoning to the conqueror the liberties of the citizens and the honours of the state. Octavius easily obtained the legal ratification of his adoption. He then caused Pedius to propose a bill for the condemnation of Cæsar's murderers. His friends and adherents rushed forward as their accusers. L. Cornificius prosecuted Brutus, and Agrippa Cassius. When these illustrious personages were cited to appear as criminals, the multitude, it is said, groaned deeply, and the nobles hung their abashed heads. One man only ventured to vote for their acquittal, and judgment passed against them by default. The conspirators were interdicted from fire and water, in the barbarous phrase of the ancient formulas, with the consent and approbation of the assembled people.[1] Sextus Pompeius, who had watched the course of affairs from Massilia, and had recently launched with a well-appointed fleet into the Italian seas, was included in this hostile decree, while that against Dolabella was rescinded, though too late to save him.

The liberators are accused and condemned in their absence.

Octavius could securely leave the city in the charge of his zealous colleague, and summoning his legions to his side, he was once more on his way to the north of Italy by the middle of September. He intended to effect a junction with Antonius and Lepidus, who were preparing to cross the Alps together, and no one perhaps really expected that he would execute the commission with which he was ostensibly charged, of defending the republic against them. Brutus and Cassius were in arms against the government with a force of twenty legions. Decimus, the associate in their crime, was united hand and heart with them.

Octavius leaves Rome and opens negotiations with Antonius and Lepidus.

[1] Vell. ii. 69.; Liv. *Epit.* cxx.; Plut. *Brut.* 27.; Appian, *B. C.* iii. 95.; Dion, xlvi. 49.: Mon. Ancyran., col. i.

Plancus, it might be expected, would fall under his control, and the attitude of Pollio was at least dubious. Sextus swept the seas and menaced the islands. It was only by the swords of Antonius and Lepidus that the existing authorities at Rome could hope to maintain their usurpation, and the conjunction of Octavius with his mortal foe was a political necessity. Accordingly, no sooner had he quitted the city, than Pedius, as concerted between them, proposed that Antonius and Lepidus should be restored to favour. The senate, wearied and confused with the rapid change in public affairs, unsupported or unawed by the fervour of Cicero's eloquence, deserted by the most illustrious consulars, and willing to be deceived by the hollow pretexts of forgiveness and oblivion, consented to adopt his counsel.[1] The personal animosity between Antonius and his younger rival was soothed by the mediation of Lepidus. The report of this sudden turn in events wrought immediate conviction on the minds of Plancus and Pollio, both of whom renounced their adherence to the party which had vanished from the curia and the forum. Their fidelity had long wavered; neither Cicero nor any of the statesmen to whom he had disclosed his correspondence with them, could be surprised at their defection. They had never had the cause of the republic at heart. They now returned to the Cæsarean banner, under which they had so long served, to the friends and to the interest to which they had been through life attached.

Decimus, deserted by his soldiers, is taken and slain.

Decimus prepared to wrestle with his adverse fortune with the sullen resolution which belonged to his character. He had mustered not fewer than ten legions; but they were mostly, as we have seen, raw troops, and he could

[1] Appian, *B. C.* iii. 96.

depend neither upon their steadiness in battle, nor on their constancy to the leaders whom they had chosen. Recrossing the Alps, he sought to effect a junction with his associates in Macedonia, by following the route of Aquileia and Illyricum. The advance of Octavius threatened to intercept him: he dared not accept the challenge of the veteran legions, but turned suddenly to the left, intending to scale the lofty gorge of the Septimer pass, and descend perhaps by the valley of the Inn into the more hospitable regions of the north. The difficulty of the route, and the vast circuit to be traversed before the retreating battalions could thus gain the frontiers of Macedonia, terrified his undisciplined recruits. Several of the new-raised legions deserted in a body, and offered their arms to the consul. The veterans quickly followed their example, and joined the standards of Antonius. Decimus saw them depart with manly resignation; to some of the auxiliaries and cavalry, who were the last to leave him, he pretended to give a free discharge, and even supplied them with money from the military chest, which he could no longer transport with him. Three hundred horsemen still remained faithful, and with this devoted band he began to penetrate the gloomy defile. But the number of his followers gradually dwindled to ten; with so scanty an attendance the luckless fugitive hoped he might escape undiscovered by the level route he had been constrained to abandon. He retraced his steps into the plain of the Cisalpine, and was making his way stealthily to Aquileia, when he fell into the hands of a Gaulish chieftain, named Camelus.[1] The barbarian notified

[1] Appian (*B. C.* iii. 97, 98) gives the account of the last days of D. Brutus. I have done some violence to his topographical details, to make the narrative consistent and intelligible. Appian speaks of four veteran legions; but we know on surer authority that Decimus had but one. (See above, p. 182.) Comp. Vell. ii. 64., Dion, xlvi. 53.

his capture to Antonius, who immediately demanded the prisoner's head, though, it is said, he avoided a personal interview with the old comrade he had resolved to sacrifice. Thus fell the second of the assassins within a year and a half from the day of his crime. A third, Minucius Basilus, perished by a violent death about the same time, being murdered by his own slaves, upon whom he was perpetrating some brutal cruelties.[1] The name of this last-mentioned conspirator does not occur in the civil or military annals of the period which had elapsed since Cæsar's death. We have no means of estimating the loss the republic may have sustained from his early destruction: but we can hardly overrate the fatal consequences which ensued to it from the death of Decimus. Of all the captains trained in Cæsar's school this was undoubtedly the most distinguished. His services indeed had been chiefly performed at sea; but he had displayed on that element a fertility of resource, and a skill in the training of men and officers, such as would have proved not less invaluable on land. In designating him for the consulship his master showed that he discovered in him the materials of a good civil administrator; and assuredly among the soldiers and statesmen of the republican party there was no one upon whose steadfast resolution more entire dependence could be placed.

Antonius and Lepidus moved slowly and circumspectly on their progress towards the city. They confronted Octavius at Bononia, and arranged a conference on an islet in the river Rhenus, which took place at the end of October.[2] The spot selected for their

Octavius, Lepidus, and Antonius hold a conference together, and agree to share the empire between them.

[1] Appian, *l. c.:* ὑπὸ τῶν θεραπόντων ἀνῃρέθη εὐνουχίζων τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ.

[2] Fischer, *Röm. Zeit.* p. 327. The spot assigned by modern antiquarians for this celebrated meeting is called Crocetta del

meeting was approached by a bridge on either side. Each of the Cæsarean chiefs was followed by a force of five legions to a camp posted at a convenient distance. From thence they were escorted respectively by a body of three hundred horse to the foot of the bridge; and while Antonius and Octavius halted on the brink, Lepidus, according to agreement, crossed into the island. He there waved the skirt of his cloak, and the others, leaving their attendants on the bank on either side, advanced alone and unarmed at the same moment. As they drew near they watched each other's mien and movements, and were heard to demand of one another whether they bore any secret weapon concealed in their bosoms.[1] After thus satisfying themselves of their personal security, they opened the subject of their conference, which was no less than the terms on which they should agree to share the sovereignty of the state. Octavius, as consul, assumed the place of honour between the others, and thus seated they debated for three days successively, and in that interval, passed under review all the complex relations of men and parties, and by mutual concessions came at length to a perfect understanding. The name of the dictatorship was generally odious; Antonius had decreed its perpetual suppression, and besides, the office never had been nor could, consistently with the theory of its functions, be shared by three occupants. But the state of affairs,

Trebbo, where there is an island in the Reno, half a mile long, about two miles to the west of Bologna. Appian places the island in the river Lavinius, a confluent of the Rhenus. Cramer, *Ancient Italy*, i. 88. Comp. Plut. *Anton.* 19.; Dion, xlvi. *fin.*; Appian, *B. C.* iv. 2.

[1] Dion, xlvi. 55.: Μὴ καὶ ξιφίδιόν τις ὑπὸ μάλης ἔχοι: under the armpit. The Roman threw the skirt of his toga over his left shoulder, and often carried his right hand in the folds on his left breast. This was the place where he could conceal a dagger so as to draw it forth most readily.

it might be urged, demanded the creation of an extraordinary magistracy for the settlement of public affairs. The manner in which the senate had been driven to violate its own decrees and supersede its own appointments, might furnish a specious pretext for invoking the strong arm of power to protect its deliberations and impart consistency to its action. Accordingly the self-constituted guardians of the state declared themselves a commission of three, a triumvirate for the settlement of the commonwealth.[1] Their office, they proclaimed, should subsist for five years, and its functions should be equivalent to those of the consulate. But they assumed a licence far beyond the powers of any legitimate, or, indeed, of any extraordinary magistracy of former times. They appointed officers of government throughout the whole term prospectively, and they partitioned among themselves all the western provinces of the empire, that is, all the regions which were not in the actual possession of the republican leaders beyond the Ionian. Antonius, it was arranged, should rule the Gauls on either side of the Alps, with the exception of the Narbonensis, which, together with Iberia, fell to the share of Lepidus. Octavius received the islands of Sicily and Sardinia, together with the province of Africa, the granaries from which Rome

They declare themselves triumvirs for the settlement of the commonwealth.

[1] At the head of this chapter I have allowed myself to apply to this compact the designation of the "second" triumvirate, by which it is commonly known. But in fact the alliance of Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompeius, or the so-called "first" triumvirate, was no more than a private understanding; it pretended to no official powers, nor was it recognised by the state. On the other hand, the alliance of Antonius, Lepidus, and Octavius was avowedly a league for the settlement of public affairs: it was founded upon certain constitutional analogies (see in the treatises on Roman antiquities the various objects for which triumvirates or commissions of three were appointed, among others "reipublicæ constituendæ," for settling the commonwealth); and it received, as we shall see, the deliberate sanction of the senate and people.

and Italy mainly drew their subsistence. But the sacred soil of the peninsula, the hearth of Roman freedom, was exempted from this proconsular imperium. Lepidus was designated for the consulship of the ensuing year, and to him, as the first magistrate of the commonwealth, the centre of the empire was peculiarly entrusted; but in return for this concession to him of the place which neither of his more active and aspiring colleagues could consent to resign to the other, he agreed to retain only three of his ten legions, and to place the others at their disposal for the impending war against Brutus and Cassius. Of these seven legions, three fell to the lot of Octavius, four were transferred to Antonius, and their armies were thus raised to the strength of twenty legions each.

They divide among themselves the provinces and the legions.

The partition of the empire, as if it were a patrimonial inheritance, was perhaps the least arduous of the arrangements which had to be effected. The successors to Cæsar's power had neither the clemency nor the magnanimity which rendered his usurpation illustrious in the annals of revolution. But the fate with which his generous self-reliance had been requited might steel the triumvirs against any sentiments of compassion. Antonius knew the danger which threatened his own life. Cicero had justified the murder of the dictator; he had lamented the weakness which had spared the dictator's friend. The liberators had confessed their error: if Brutus alone was still unconvinced, the time was past for romantic scruples like his: the return of the patriots to power would renew the horrors of the Sullan proscription. Antonius had a thousand personal enemies, and assured that they were ready to strike him, he hastened to be the first to strike. Octavius, unlike his colleague, had no personal quarrels; the excite-

The triumvirs concert a proscription of their enemies.

ment of action and of danger neither inflamed his blood, nor blunted his feelings; but he had plunged abruptly into the arena of civil strife, where he knew himself to be the aim of the swords and daggers of every party; to extricate himself from the peril, and to raise himself to the elevation which he claimed, seas of blood must be shed; and he calmly contemplated the necessity without remorse and without passion. Lepidus, a man neither of feeling nor foresight, was easily persuaded to crimes, of which he could estimate neither the advantage nor the odium. The associates, thus prepared for the work of slaughter, sate with a list of the noblest citizens before them, and each in turn pricked the name of him whom he destined to perish. Each claimed to be ridded of his personal enemies, and to save his own friends. But when they found their wishes clash, they resorted without compunction to mutual concessions. Octavius could easily permit Antonius to proscribe the detested author of the Philippics. Antonius surrendered to him in return his own uncle by his mother's side, Lucius Cæsar. It is uncertain whether Lepidus claimed the slaughter of his brother Paulus Æmilius, or whether he only abandoned him to the malice of his colleagues.[1] As they proceeded their views expanded. They signed death-warrants to gratify their friends. As the list slowly lengthened new motives were discovered for appending to it additional names. The mere possession of riches was fatal to many; for the masters of so many legions were always poor: the occupation of pleasant houses and estates sealed the fate of others; for the triumvirs were voluptuous as well as cruel.[2] Lastly,

[1] Appian, *B. C.* iv. 3.; Dion, xlvii. 6., from whom we learn that both these illustrious nobles escaped with their lives. He ascribes indeed the escape of Æmilius to the contrivance of his brother Lepidus, and that of L. Cæsar to his nephew Antonius.

[2] Pliny reports (*H. N.* xxxiv. 3.) that the notorious Verres was put to death by Antonius merely for vaunting the superiority of his Corinthian bronzes.

the mutual jealousy of the proscribers augmented the number of their victims, each seeking the destruction of those who conspicuously favoured his colleagues, and each exacting a similar compensation in return.[1] The whole number extended, we are told, to three hundred senators and two thousand knights; among them were brothers, uncles, and favourite officers of the triumvirs themselves. At the same time the soldiers put forward demands which required consideration. A list of eighteen Italian cities was drawn up to be delivered to them with the districts adjoining, by the dispossession from their estates of the existing inhabitants. Among these were some of the finest cities of the peninsula, as may appear from the names of Capua, Rhegium, Venusia, Beneventum, Nuceria, and Ariminum.[2]

Octavius espouses the daughter of Fulvia.

The soldiery, it is said, in return interested themselves in effecting a marriage between the young Octavius and the daughter of Antonius's consort Fulvia, by her first husband the tribune Clodius.[3]

First proscription of seventeen names.

Cicero had betaken himself to his retreat at Tusculum, and was there making arrangements with his brother Quintus for escaping to the camp of Brutus in Macedonia. It is probable however that many of the chiefs of the republican party, who had fled from the city when Octavius entered it, had returned, in the vain hope that his elevation to the consulship would be a pledge of restored security. They beheld a protector also in Pedius, and were inspired perhaps by the honourable feeling that it was their duty to seek once more the post of usefulness and danger. At this post they were found when the news arrived of the combination which had taken place between the defender

[1] Dion, *l. c.*, who asserts that the number of the victims was much larger than in the Sullan proscription.

[2] Appian, *l. c.*

[3] Dion, xlvi. 56.; Vell. ii. 65.

of the state and its deadly enemies. This announcement was presently followed by the manifesto of the triumvirs, in which they proclaimed the league they had formed for the subjugation of the republic, but concealed as yet the proscription to which they had pledged themsleves. Seventeen however of their principal enemies, and among them Cicero, they had already doomed to massacre, and they despatched emissaries to execute their vengeance upon these first victims, before they should proceed to disclose to the citizens the extent of their hideous designs. Their agents attacked the houses of the appointed victims in the middle of the night: some they seized and slew unresisting; others struggled to the last, and shed blood in their own defence; others escaping from their hands raised the alarm throughout the city, and the general terror of all classes, not knowing what to expect, or who might feel himself safe, caused a violent commotion. Pedius, himself entirely ignorant of the views of the triumvirs, strove to calm the tumult. He ascertained the names of the seventeen proscribed, and took upon himself to declare, in the name of his colleague, that the exigencies of the commonwealth required the blood of so many traitors and conspirators, but that with their destruction justice would be satisfied. Of the denounced most had already fallen, a few had outstripped their pursuers; the mass of the republicans, rejoicing in the safety assured to themselves, desisted from attempting to save the lives of the miserable remnant. The city breathed once more from its panic consternation; but Pedius, overcome with fatigue or shame, was seized with mortal sickness and died the following night.[1]

Pedius dies suddenly.

Antonius, Lepidus, and Octavius, entered the city on three successive days, each accompanied by a

[1] Appian, *B. C.* iv. 6.

single legion, and surrounded by a prætorian cohort.[1]

The triumvirs enter the city: the triumvirate is proclaimed. A second and third list of proscription.

The temples and towers were immediately occupied by troops, the banners of the republic waved in the forum, and cast their ominous shadow over the heads of the assembled people. Titius, one of the tribunes, had convoked the comitia for the creation of the new magistrates, and the armed usurpers were now formally invested with the title of triumvirs, and all the powers they claimed conferred upon them. Their impatience indeed cut short the delays which the law in strictness required: the triumvirate was proclaimed on the twenty-seventh of November, and the next night the new reign was inaugurated by the publication, or proscription, of the names of one hundred and thirty senators and knights. Soon afterwards an hundred and fifty more were added to the list, which was placarded throughout the city, with offers of reward, in money to the freemen, in freedom to the slaves, who should bring the heads of the denounced to the triumvirs. Every dwelling was ordered to be thrown open to the inquisitors of blood: to obstruct the vengeance of the law, or conceal a fugitive, was forbidden under penalty of death. The formula of proscription set forth that the destined victims were implicated in the murder of Cæsar, or in abetting and caressing his murderers; and pleaded that the triumvirs, before marching to crush the conspirators in the provinces, were compelled to purge the capital of their adherents, by whom they had been themselves insulted, outlawed, and proscribed.[2]

Anecdotes of the proscription.

And now all the horrors of the Sullan and Marian massacres were repeated after an interval of fifty years. The executioners, armed with the prostituted forms of authority, rushed unresisted

[1] Appian, *B. C.* iv. 7.
[2] Appian, *B. C.* iv. 8—11.; Dion, xlvii. 1—19.

and unhindered in pursuit of their victims. They found many to aid them in the search, and to stimulate their activity. The contagious thirst of blood spread from the hired assassins to all who had an ancient grudge to requite, a future favour to obtain. Many fell in the confusion whose names were not included in the list of the proscribed. Many a private debt was wiped out in the blood of the creditor. Robbers and cut-throats mingled with the bitter partisan and the private enemy. While the murderer carried the head of his victim to fix it on a spike before the rostra, and claim the proffered reward, the jackals of massacre entered the tenantless house, and glutted themselves with plunder. Among the first to fall was the tribune Salvius, whose office invested him with presumed inviolability. This man had been a staunch adherent of Antonius. He had interposed his veto when it was first proposed to brand him as a public enemy; but the eloquence of Cicero had convinced him of his error, and he had attached himself recently with ardour to the policy of the republicans. When he heard that the triumvirs were entering Rome he knew that his fate was sealed. He summoned his friends to a banquet, and entertained them as one soon to be taken from them. Armed men burst into the room, and when the guests rose in dismay, the centurion bade them resume their seats, and look on in silence. He then seized Salvius by the hair, and dragging his head across the table, severed it from the body with a blow. Paralysed with horror the guests sate motionless into the middle of the night, and gazed on the mangled remains.

Death of Salvius.

But the death of Annalis, one of the prætors, was peculiarly touching. He was in the act of suing the citizens for their suffrages on behalf of his son, who was a candidate for the quæstorship, and was passing from house to house, escorted by

Death of Annalis.

his lictors and attended by a troop of friends and clients, when his name was descried on the fatal list. In a moment he found himself alone. He contrived to escape to the dwelling of one of his clients in an obscure spot outside the walls. There he might perhaps have eluded the bloodhounds of the triumvirs; but the son discovered his hiding-place and revealed it to the assassins, seeking and obtaining the ædileship as his reward. But the same night, as he was returning intoxicated from a feast in which he had celebrated his guilty success, he met the very party who had just slain his father, and fell himself by their hands in a drunken quarrel. Another of the proscribed, named Thoranius, having a son who stood high in favour with Antonius, besought the assassins to allow him an hour that his son might exert his influence in his behalf. They grinned, and replied that the son had just demanded his death. The old man begged for a last interview with his unnatural offspring, and when brought into his presence warned him to reject the patrimonial inheritance, lest his brother should in like manner denounce him also. This monster met with his punishment in due time, though less sudden and less striking than in the former instance. It was remarked that he quickly spent his ill-gotten wealth, was accused of theft or peculation, and driven into exile.[1]

and of Thoranius.

Both our principal authorities, Appian and Dion, especially the former, have given full details and abundant anecdotes of this frightful period. They balance against each other the traits of devotion and perfidy, of meanness and generosity, which were displayed by wives and husbands, children and parents, masters and slaves.[2]

Proscription of Marcus and Quintus Cicero.

[1] Appian, *B. C.* iv. 18.

[2] Velleius is particularly smart on this subject: "Id tamen notandum est, fuisse in proscriptos uxorum fidem summam, libertorum mediam, servorum aliquam, filiorum nullam." (ii. 67.)

But the interest which attaches to one name, the most conspicuous, and probably the first on the bloody list, the name of Marcus Cicero, attracts us irresistibly to the event in which all our sympathy centres. The last days of the most amiable of Roman statesmen, in the midst of his utter despair for the republic, and too abject alarm for himself, had been brightened at least by the society and renewed confidence of his brother Quintus. He had deeply lamented, without resenting it, the apostasy of Cæsar's lieutenant from the cause of liberty; an act which had been darkened still more by the ill-offices, which at least in Cicero's apprehension he had not scrupled to do him with the dictator. But since the event of the tyrannicide Quintus had repented of his treachery, and had devoted himself, though in no conspicuous post, to the service of the republic, and the advancement of his brother's policy. He too was now marked out for death. The brothers were together at the Tusculan villa. From thence they fled in company from one retreat to another, anxious to effect their escape into Macedonia, an asylum which they preferred to Syria or to Sicily, where Sextus Pompeius had now raised the standard of liberty. They bent their steps towards Astura, a maritime residence of Marcus Cicero, borne in litters, from which they had the mournful satisfaction of conversing together as they proceeded. On the way they recollected that they had not with them money sufficient for their contemplated expedition.[1] Quintus determined to return to Rome for the necessary supply, while the elder brother, whose danger was perhaps the most imminent, should prosecute his flight alone. A mournful separa-

They fly together from Tusculum.

Quintus returning to Rome is slain with his son.

[1] Plut. *Cic.* 47. Astura was an island at the mouth of a little stream of the same name, on the coast a few miles south of Antium. Cicero describes it (*ad Att.* xii. 19.). "Est hic quidem locus amœnus, et in mari ipso, qui et Antio et Circeiis aspici possit."

tion ensued. Quintus reached the city, but was immediately recognised by the assassins, and slain together with his son, after an affecting scene of mutual devotion. Each had claimed to be the first to die: the soldiers divided themselves into two parties and slew both at the same moment.[1]

M. Cicero seeks to escape from Italy. His fatal vacillation.

Meanwhile the surviving fugitive reached Astura, and there embarked. A favourable breeze wafted the vessel off the promontory of Circeii, and from thence the sailors were about to stand out to sea, when Cicero once more determined to land, and throw himself, as was supposed, on the clemency of Octavius. He proceeded some miles on the road to Rome; again he changed his mind, and retraced his steps to Circeii. There the night overtook him, and the hours of solitude and darkness increased his sleepless agitation. Some said that he now conceived a design of getting secretly into Octavius's dwelling, and slaying himself upon his hearthstone, *to fasten upon him an avenging demon.*[2] But from this design he was driven by the fear of tortures, and the recollection of Trebonius's cruel fate. With the dawn of day a gleam of hope once more visited the miserable sufferer. He besought his attendants to bear him once again to the sea-shore, and put him on board a bark. But adverse winds, or the distress of sea-sickness, or his own wavering resolution, induced him to return to land a second time, and he took up his abode for the night in his villa near Formiæ.[3] In

[1] Appian, *B. C.* iv. 20.; Dion, xlvii. 10.

[2] Plut. *l. c.* Drumann remarks that he would rather have sought the house of Antonius. But the tradition seems to indicate the bitter mortification and remorse Cicero felt at having been deceived in his estimate of Octavius. See the *Epistola ad Octavium*, before referred to.

[3] Formiæ, now Mola di Gaeta, four miles from Gaeta, the Caieta of the Romans. Cicero's villa was one mile from the coast, and at that distance considerable remains are now visible. The wood

vain was he warned of the danger of these wretched delays. Utterly prostrated by anguish of mind and weariness of body, he only replied, *Let me die, let me die in my father-land, which I have so often saved.* But his slaves now shut their ears to their master's moans, and taking him in their arms, replaced him in his litter, with which they hurried again towards the coast, through the thick woods which lay between. The bloodhounds were already on the scent. Scarcely had the house been quitted, when a band of soldiers, led by an officer named Popilius, a client whom Cicero's advocacy had saved from the penalty of parricide, approached and thundered at the closed doors. No one appeared to give them admittance, and when they burst them open, the servants of the house denied any knowledge of the fugitive's movements. But a traitor was near at hand. A young man, who had been emancipated by Quintus, and educated by Marcus Cicero, by name Philogonus, put the assassins on his track. Some of them followed in pursuit, while Popilius made a rapid circuit to occupy the outlet of the path through the woods. Cicero had not yet reached the open shore, when he perceived the pursuers gaining upon him. His party were more numerous than the enemy: they would have drawn their swords in their master's defence, but he forbade them; or, according to another account, they were deceived by a stratagem into the belief that they were attacked by superior numbers, and desisted from the attempt.[1] Cicero now bade his slaves set down the litter, and leaning his chin on his left hand, his usual posture in meditation, he fixed his eyes steadily on his murderers, and offered

He is pursued and overtaken.

commemorated in this narrative has dwindled into "vines, olives and hedges." (Eustace, *Class. Tour.* ii. 313.) A sort of obelisk in two stories close by is believed by the natives to be Cicero's tomb

[1] Comp. Liv. cxx. fragm. with Appian, *B. C.* iv. 20.

his throat to the sword.[1] The ruffians were shocked at the squalid unshorn visage of the great man whose blood they thirsted for. Many covered their faces with their hands, and their leader's nerves were so shaken, that he drew the blade three times across the victim's throat like a saw, before he could sever the head from the body.[2] With the head the murderer carried off the hands also; such was the command of Antonius: the thunder of the Philippics had issued from the one, but the other had inscribed them upon parchment more durable than stone or brass. They were carried to Rome, and set up in front of the rostra, to the amazement and horror of the people, who for so many years had been swayed through the whole compass of human passion by the expression of that countenance, and the majestic movement of those hands.[3] Antonius openly exulted in the sight, and rewarded the assassins with profuse liberality. Fulvia, with all the littleness of female resentment, pierced the tongue with her needle, in double revenge for the denunciations it had uttered against both her husbands.[4]

Cicero is slain, and his head and hands placed by Antonius on the rostra.

Many writers, it has been remarked, have related the death of Cicero, but Plutarch alone has painted it. In the narrative here laid before him the reader has the substance of this picturesque account, together with some touches introduced from collateral

Reflections on the death and character of Cicero.

[1] Besides the authorities for the circumstances of Cicero's death above referred to, comp. Val. Max. v. 3, 4.; Seneca, *Suas.* i. 7.; Vell. ii. 66. Livy, Appian and Plutarch are not quite consistent with one another.

[2] Lucan, viii. 673.: "Nondum artis erat caput ense rotare."

[3] Vell. *l. c.*; Juvenal, x. 120.

[4] Hieron. *adv. Rufin.* ii., following the earlier authorities; "Fecerunt hæc et Fulvia in Ciceronem, et Herodias in Joannem, quia veritatem non poterant audire, et linguam veriloquam discriminali acu confoderunt." Drumann, vi. 379.

sources. In this, as in many other passages of his Lives, the Greek biographer has evidently aimed at creating an effect, and though he seems to have been mainly guided by the genuine narrative of Tiro, Cicero's beloved freedman,[1] we may suspect him of having embellished it to furnish a striking termination to one of his favourite sketches. Nevertheless the narrative is mainly confirmed by a fragment of Livy's history, which has fortunately been preserved. The Roman author vies with the Greek in throwing dignity and interest over the great statesman's end. But in reviewing the uneven tenor of his career, Livy concludes with the stern comment, *He bore none of his calamities as a man should, except his death.* These are grave words. In the mouth of one who had cast his scrutinizing glance over the characters and exploits of all the heroes of the great republic, and had learnt by the training of his life-long studies to discriminate moral qualities and estimate desert, they constitute the most important judgment on the conduct of Cicero that antiquity has bequeathed to us.[2] Few indeed among the Romans ever betrayed a want of resolution in the face of impending death. But it was in the en-

[1] Asconius (*ad Cicer. pro Mil.* p. 49.) refers to the fourth book of Tiro's *Life of Cicero.* Comp. Plut. *Cic.* 41, 49.

[2] Liv. *Fragm.* lib. cxx., apud Senec. *Suasor.* v.: "Omnium adversorum nihil ut viro dignum erat tulit præter mortem." Comp. Quintil. *Inst.* xii. 1. It is easy to say that Livy, writing under the domination of Octavius, was obliged to throw a slur upon the victim of the proscription. There was no such necessity. Velleius has shown that the emperors of the Julian line could tolerate a warm panegyric on Cicero, and were satisfied if the odium of his destruction was thrown upon Antonius. Cicero's memory found severer judges in the descendants of the Pompeian faction (Livy himself was eminently Pompeian) than the Cæsarean. Lucan denounces his perverse impolicy (vii. 65.). It can hardly be accidental that Tacitus, in his historical works, never mentions him. The most glowing tribute to Cicero's merits is the well-known passage in Juvenal, viii. 237., and this is written in the spirit of a Marian, or anti-oligarch. Comp. Vell. ii. 66.

durance of calamity rather than the defiance of danger that the courage of Cicero was deficient. The orator, whose genius lay in the arts of peace and persuasion, exhibited on more than one occasion a martial spirit worthy of other habits and a ruder training. In the contest with Catilina he displayed all the moral confidence of a veteran general: in the struggle with Antonius he threw himself without reserve into a position where there was no alternative but to conquer or to perish. In the earlier conflict he had still his fame to acquire, his proud ascendancy to establish; and the love of praise and glory inspired him with the audacity which makes and justifies its own success. But in the later, he courted danger for the sake of retaining the fame he so dearly prized. He had once saved his country, and he could not endure that it should be said he had ever deserted it. He loved his country; but it was for his own honour, which he could preserve, rather than for his country's freedom, which he despaired of, that he returned to his post when escape was still possible. He might have remained silent, but he opened the floodgates of his eloquence. When indeed he had once launched himself on the torrent he lost all self-command; he could neither retrace nor moderate his career; he saw the rocks before him, but he dashed himself headlong against them. But another grave authority has given us the judgment of antiquity, that Cicero's defect was the want of steadfastness.[1] His courage had no dignity because it lacked consistency. All men and all parties agreed that he could not be relied upon to lead, to cooperate, or to follow. In all the great enterprises of his party, he was left behind, except that which the nobles undertook against Catilina, in which they rather thrust him before them than engaged with

[1] M. Seneca, *Suasor.* ii. 12: "Nemo sine vitio est; in Catone moderatio, in Cicerone constantia desideratur."

him on terms of mutual support. When we read the vehement claims which Cicero put forth to the honour of association, however tardy, with the glories and dangers of Cæsar's assassins, we should deem the conspirators guilty of a monstrous oversight in having neglected to enlist him in their design, were we not assured that he was not to be trusted as a confederate either for good or for evil.

Ample materials for estimating Cicero's character in his correspondence.

Of all the characters of antiquity Cicero is undoubtedly that with which we are most intimately acquainted; for he alone has left to us the record of his thoughts and actions for more than half his public career in a voluminous mass of familiar as well as political correspondence. No public character probably could pass unscathed through the fiery ordeal to which he has thus subjected himself. Cicero, it must be avowed, is convicted from his own mouth of vanity, inconstancy, sordidness, jealousy, malice, selfishness, and timidity. But on the other hand no character, public or private, could thus bare its workings to our view without laying a stronger claim to our sympathy, and extorting from us more kindly consideration than we can give to the mere shell of the human being with which ordinary history brings us in contact. Cicero gains more than he loses by the confessions he pours into our ear. We read in his letters what we should vainly search for in the meagre pages of Sallust and Appian, in the captious criticism of Dion, and even in the pleasant anecdotes of his friendly biographer Plutarch, his amiableness, his refined urbanity, his admiration for excellence, his thirst for fame, his love of truth, equity, and reason. Much indeed of the patriotism, the honesty, the moral courage he exhibited was really no other than the refined ambition of attaining the respect of his contemporaries, and bequeathing a name to posterity. He might not act from a sense

of duty, like Cato, but his motives, personal and selfish as they in some sense were, coincided with what a more enlightened conscience would have felt to be duty. Thus his proconsulate is perhaps the purest and most honourable passage in his life. His strict and rare probity amidst the temptations of office arrests our attention and extorts our praise; yet assuredly Cicero had no nice sense of honour, and was controlled by no delicacy of sentiment, where public opinion was silent, or a transaction strictly private. His courting his ward Publilia for her dower, his caressing Dolabella for the sake of getting his debt paid, his soliciting the historian Lucceius to colour and exaggerate the merits of his consulship, display a grievous want of magnanimity and of a predominant sense of right.[1] Fortunately his instinct taught him to see in the constitution of the republic the fairest field for the display of his peculiar talents; the orator and the pleader could not fail to love the arena on which the greatest triumphs of his genius had been or were yet, as he hoped, to be acquired. And Cicero indeed was not less ambitious than Cæsar or Pompeius, Antonius or Octavius. To the pursuit of fame he sacrificed many interests and friendships. He was not less jealous of a rival in his chosen career than any of the leaders of party and candidates for popular favour. He could not endure competition for the throne of eloquence and the sceptre of persuasion. It was on this account perhaps that he sought his associates among the young, from whose rivalry he had nothing to fear, rather than from his own contemporaries, the candidates for the same prize of public admiration which he aimed at securing for himself. From

[1] See the letter to Lucceius, *ad Div.* v. 12.: "Itaque te plane etiam atque etiam rogo ut et ornes ea vehementius etiam quam fortasse sentis, et in eo leges historiæ negligas . . . . amorique nostro plusculum etiam quam concedat veritas largiare."

his pages there flows an incessant stream of abuse of all the great masters of political power in his time: of Cæsar and Pompeius, of Crassus and Antonius, not to mention his coarse vituperation of Piso and Gabinius, and his uneasy sneers at the impracticable Cato. We may note the different tone which his disparagement assumes towards these men respectively. He speaks of Cæsar with awe, of Pompeius with mortification, with dislike of Crassus, with bitter malice of Antonius. Cæsar, even when he most deeply reprobates him, he personally loves;[1] the cold distrust of Pompeius vexes his self-esteem; between him and Crassus there subsists a natural antipathy of temperament; but Antonius, the hate of his old age, becomes to him the incarnation of all the evil his long and bitter experience of mankind has discovered in the human heart.[2] While we suspect Cicero of injustice towards the great men of his day, we are bound also to specify the gross dishonesty with which he magnifies his own merits where they are trivial, and embellishes them where they are really important. The perpetual recurrence to the topic of his own political deserts must have wearied the most patient of friends, and more than balanced the display of sordidness and time-serving

[1] Such at least is his tone up to the time of Cæsar's death. In the agony of the crisis that followed he speaks of him bitterly enough.

[2] I have noticed several traits, and passed over many more of what can be called by no milder name than ferocity in Cicero's language towards his enemies. They can be palliated only by reference to the constant exaggeration in which the orator indulged. But Cicero was a moralist as well as an orator, and he certainly left upon his contemporaries an unfavourable impression of the qualities of his heart. Livy continues the sentence quoted above with the words, "(mors) quæ vere existimanti minus indigna videri potuit, quod a victore inimico nil crudelius passurus erat quam quod ejusdem fortunæ compos ipse fecisset." The execution of the Catilinarians was an act of sanguinary panic, such as provokes and may sometimes compel retaliation.

which Atticus doubtless reflected back in his share of the correspondence between them.

Cicero judged by a higher standard than other great men of antiquity.

But while Cicero stands justly charged with many grave infirmities of temper and defects of principle, while we remark with a sigh the vanity, the inconstancy, and the ingratitude he so often manifested, while we lament his ignoble subserviences and his ferocious resentments, the high standard by which we claim to judge him is in itself the fullest acknowledgment of his transcendent merits. For undoubtedly had he not placed himself on a higher moral level than the statesmen and sages of his day, we should pass over many of his weaknesses in silence, and allow his pretensions to our esteem to pass almost unchallenged. But we demand a nearer approach to the perfection of human wisdom and virtue in one who sought to approve himself the greatest of their teachers. Nor need we scruple to admit that the judgment of the ancients on Cicero was for the most part unfavourable. The moralists of antiquity required in their heroes virtues with which we can more readily dispense; and they too had less sympathy with many qualities which a purer religion and a wider experience have taught us to love and admire. Nor were they capable, from their position, of estimating the slow and silent effects upon human happiness of the lessons which Cicero enforced. After all the severe judgments we are compelled to pass on his conduct, we must acknowledge that there remains a residue of what is amiable in his character and noble in his teaching beyond all ancient example. Cicero lived and died in faith. He has made converts to the belief in virtue, and had disciples in the wisdom of love. There have been dark periods in the history of man, when the feeble ray of religious instruction paled before the torch of his generous philanthropy. The praise which the

great critic pronounced upon his excellence in oratory may be justly extended to the qualities of his heart, and even in our enlightened days it may be held no mean advance in virtue to venerate the master of Roman philosophy.[1]

Escape of many of the proscribed.

The date of Cicero's assassination is fixed to the seventh of December, when he wanted twenty-seven days to complete his sixty-fourth year.[2] As his name stood conspicuous in the original list of seventeen victims publicly denounced before the triumvirs reached Rome, it is probable that nearly a month elapsed between the notification of his danger and his actual death. Assuredly there could be no difficulty in discovering his retreat at Tusculum, and these dates seem to prove that he was not hotly pursued, and might without difficulty have escaped. To the last he could hardly persuade himself that his persecutors were inexorable. Of the associates of his proscription a large proportion probably eluded pursuit, which seems to have relaxed again after the death of the most illustrious victim.[3] Many crossed the sea to Macedonia, others to Africa; a still larger number took refuge in the vessels which Sextus sent to cruise off the coast of Latium and Campania, for the purpose of rendering them assistance.[4] Many also of those who were seized found the enemy not implacable. Lepidus and Antonius were accessible to bribes, if not to entreaties. Octavius seems to have felt already the

[1] Quintilian, *Inst.* x. 1.: "Ille se profecisse sciat cui Cicero valde placebit."

[2] Tacit. *Dial. de Orat.* 17.: "Ut de Cicerone ipso loquar, Hirtio nempe et Pansa consulibus, ut Tiro libertus ejus scripsit, vii. Idus Decembris occisus est." Cicero was born Jan. 3. A.U. 648. of the old calendar. Fischer's *Röm. Zeit.* p. 332.

[3] Vell. ii. 64.: "Tribuni (Canutii) sanguine commissa proscriptio, Ciceronis vel satiato Antonio pæne finita."

[4] Dion, xlvii. 12.; Appian, *B. C.* iv. 36. Among those who escaped was M. Terentius Varro, who was concealed by Calenus.

advantage of placing his own lenity in favourable contrast with his rival's ferocity.[1] The writers of the empire could assert of him, from the review of his conduct in after life, that he was not by nature cruel, but partook largely of the generous character of the noble Julius.[2] Nor had he many private injuries to avenge. Antonius alone seems to have really enjoyed the taste of blood. He was urged on by a fiend in woman's shape, the notorious Fulvia; and while the female relatives of the other triumvirs sought to soothe their passions, his wife alone demanded the death of his enemies and sported with their sufferings. The proscription of the triumvirs differed widely from those of Marius and of Sulla. The one was devised principally as a means of extorting money by confiscation, while the others were directed to the extermination of the obnoxious chiefs of the opposite parties. The soldiers still cried aloud for their promised donatives; the equipment of the vast armaments still in preparation for the impending war demanded ready money: but the treasury stood empty, half the provinces were closed against the fiscal officers, every ordinary means of raising revenue proved abortive; confiscation of private fortunes alone offered a ready resource for filling the coffers of the state. The proscription, in short, was a fiscal expedient. A fourth list of victims was

[1] Plutarch (*Anton.* 21.) says that Antonius incurred the most blame for the proscriptions, as being older than Octavius, and of more influence than Lepidus. Velleius declares that Octavius opposed the measure, but was outvoted by the others. We must not however overlook the testimony of Suetonius, who says of Octavius: "Restitit aliquamdiu collegis ne qua fieret proscriptio, sed inceptam utroque acerbius exercuit." He goes on to mention special instances not only of his selfish cruelty, but of his ferocity. (Suet. *Oct.* 28.) It must be remembered that this writer paints all his characters in the strongest colours. There is no shade in his portraits of the Cæsars.

[2] Dion, xlvii. 7.

shortly put forth; but these were not doomed to death, but only to the loss of their property. Among them many were women, and to these a small portion of their means was ostensibly reserved, though such a provision in their behalf was not perhaps carefully observed.[1] But this persecution of the female sex was a thing so unprecedented in the annals of civil strife among the Romans, that one historian takes occasion to dress up a fictitious narrative of a female insurrection in consequence.[2] So scrupulously did the revolutionary leaders abstain from assailing the innocent sex and age, that when the triumvirs demanded in one instance the sacrifice of a minor, they caused him to be first invested with the robe of manhood before they inscribed his name on the fatal roll.[3]

A fourth list of proscription, for the sake of extorting money.

But the triumvirs had employed an instrument which they could not control. The horror of the proscription was more than doubled by the impunity it threw over the gratification of private malice. Every one who resented an injury or coveted a neighbour's estate, found the means under this bloody enactment of satisfying his vengeance or his cupidity. The proscribed were not all nor perhaps the greater number of those who perished. Murders were daily committed, and no one was called to account for them. Antonius remarked in one instance, with little emotion, that he knew not the countenance of the mangled head presented to him. The estates of the slaughtered victims were sold at a low price to the assassins, while the soldiers were let loose throughout the

The triumvirs reward their adherents and agents.

[1] Dion, xlvii. 16, 17.

[2] Appian, *B. C.* iv. 32. But Valerius Maximus mentions that Hortensia, the daughter of the great orator, delivered a speech before the triumvirs in deprecation of this severity (viii. 3. 3.), and Quintilian states that her discourse was published and known in his day. *Inst. Orat.* i. 1. 6.

[3] Dion, xlvii. 6.

broad fields of Italy, ostensibly to hunt out the victims, but really in order to throw upon the country the burden of their support.[1] The magistracies in the towns were given to tribunes and centurions as the reward of these services, while the highest offices in the city were distributed, immediately or in prospect, among the nobler adherents of the triumphant party. Octavius resigned the consulship in favour of Ventidius, while the seat vacated by the death of Pedius devolved upon C. Carrinas. Ventidius Bassus was a Picenian by birth, and while yet a child had been carried at his mother's breast before the car of Pompeius, the father of Magnus, when he triumphed over the Italians in the Social War. The strange reverse of fortune by which the foreign captive became exalted to the highest dignity of the conquering republic formed a subject of admiring comment to the writers of antiquity.[2] It deserved to be remarked as a splendid illustration of the wisdom by which the franchise and honours of the city were so frequently opened to her subjects. Ventidius, low perhaps originally in birth and condition, had been for a time a jobber of beasts of burden to the public officers. Cæsar had discovered in him the promise of military talents, and carried him into Gaul. There he had rapidly acquired distinction, and his second patron Antonius was induced to reward his fidelity by investing him with the prætorship, and the consulship in the course of the same year. The trusty veteran had not yet reached the summit of his adventurous career.

Octavius resigns the consulship to Ventidius. His remarkable story.

[1] Dion, xlvii. 14.

[2] Val. Max. vi. 9. 9. Juvenal (vii. 199.) compares his elevation with that of the slave-king Servius Tullius. Aulus Gellius (xv. 4.) gives his history, and adds the pasquinade which was made upon him:

"Concurrite omnes augures, haruspices,
Portentum inusitatum conflatum est recens
Nam mulos qui fricabat consul factus est."

But these magistracies could be enjoyed for a few days only. The year 712 was about to commence, and the consuls appointed for this year were Lepidus and Plancus. Both of them could rest their claims to such honours upon the strength of the military reinforcements they had brought to the common league. It may be surmised that Plancus had made the consulship the condition of his timely adhesion to the Cæsarean conspiracy. Both he and Lepidus had further demanded the distinction of a triumph: the one pretended to have gathered laurels in Gaul, the other in Spain; but history is silent as to their services. Plancus had sealed his devotion to the cause by demanding the proscription of a brother, and when the two fratricides traversed the streets conspicuous in their triumphal chariots, the soldiers, it is said, with the usual camp-licence, hailed them with the bitter verse, *The consuls triumph not over the Gauls, but over the Germans,* i.e. their brothers.[1] The citizens cursed them as they rode along; and it was in vain that Lepidus issued an edict, commanding them to rejoice and be merry under pain of proscription.

Lepidus and Plancus consuls for the year 712.

We now turn to the state of affairs on the other side of the Adriatic. Brutus having seized the government of Macedonia had been engaged in securing the points of communication with Italy. The interests of M. Antonius were still upheld in those regions by Vatinius at Dyrrhachium, and C. Antonius at Apollonia; and the efforts of the republican leader had been directed to reducing these two strongholds, the gates of his province on the west. Va-

The republicans beyond the Adriatic.

[1] Vell. ii. 67.: "De Germanis non de Gallis duo triumphant consules." But the Fasti Capitolini assign the respective triumphs of the consuls to two separate days, Dec. 29 and 31., and the story will not bear to be accepted literally.

tinius had maintained himself against his assailant, and had audaciously claimed a triumph for his success against the troops of a compatriot; but the triumvir's brother had been worsted, and fallen into his adversary's hands. Brutus however had magnanimously spared his life.[1] The tyrannicide was still anxious that Cæsar's blood alone should atone for Cæsar's usurpation. He received with generous pride the decree of the senate which confirmed to him the command in Macedonia, wrote to encourage Octavius to arm against the enemies of the state, and declared himself ready to cross over into Italy whenever the expected summons should arrive. He had subdued every appearance of disaffection in his province, and had quelled a mutiny among his own troops, hastily collected together, and consisting partly of deserters from the enemy's ranks. To secure their good will he had been constrained to adopt the common practice of the commanders of his time. He had made unprovoked war upon the Bessi for the sake of plunder, and harassed the natives of his own province with excessive exactions.[2] There must have been great difficulty in officering these forces with trusty partisans, since we find that the young Horace, then studying at Athens, without birth or connexions and hardly twenty years of age, was intrusted with high command immediately upon his enlistment.[1] Brutus continued to exercise his

Brutus collects and exercises his forces in Macedonia.

[1] Dion, xlvii. 21.; Plut. *Brut.* 26. Brutus spared his captive a second time when he discovered him intriguing with his soldiers. It is a question however whether on a third provocation he did not put him to death after he had heard of the massacre of Decimus. Plut. *Brut.* 28.

[2] Dion, xlvii. 25.; Plut. *Brut.* 28—32.

[3] Horat. *Sat.* I. vi. 48.: "Quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno." There were properly six tribunes in each legion, who commanded by turns. But it is not likely that the old rules of the service were strictly adhered to at this time, and Horace's expression "pareret mihi" must be understood with considerable latitude.

soldiers by various incursions upon the barbarians beyond the frontier, from which he acquired the title of imperator, which carried with it a certain assurance of valour and experience among the Roman legionaries. It was at this time also that he coined money with his own effigy, so forgetful was even Brutus of the traditions of the republic, and stamped the reverse with a cap of liberty between two naked daggers.[1]

Nor had Cassius been less active and successful in establishing the authority of the senate throughout the province, and on the frontiers of Syria. He had avenged upon Dolabella the cruel murder of Trebonius; he had subdued the hostility of the city of Tarsus, enlisted in his service auxiliaries from Parthia, and repressed by the terror of his presence the Cæsarean sympathies of the natives of Palestine. Cæcilius Bassus, who had affected to defend the republic against the dictator's lieutenants, but who had refused to deliver up his forces to the proconsul appointed by the senate, had been deserted by his own soldiers, and Cassius, in consideration of his hostility to Cæsar, had dismissed him unpunished. The two republican chieftains, emboldened by these successes, and now at the head, Brutus of eight, Cassius of eleven legions, met once more in the province of Asia. They were informed

Cassius undisputed master of Syria.

Brutus musters eight legions, Cassius eleven.

[1] Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* vi. 24. Dion adds that there was an inscription declaring that he and Cassius had restored liberty to Rome. He alludes probably to the significant EID. MAR. which may be read on these remarkable coins. The tyrannicide's face is thin, and bears out the famous saying of Cæsar regarding both him and Cassius. (See Chap. XXI.) Such is not the character, if I remember rightly, of the fine unfinished bust preserved in the Capitoline Museum at Rome, beneath which the lines have been inscribed:

"Dum ducit sculptor Bruti de marmore vultum
In mentem sceleris venit et abstinuit."

by this time of the course of events in Rome, and war having become inevitable, they debated whether to cross the sea at once and seek the foe in Italy, or to await his attack in Macedonia. They agreed to remain on the defensive, and while they relied on the posture of Sextus Pompeius to keep the attention of the triumvirs distracted, contented themselves with stimulating their allies, chastising their enemies, and amassing arms and stores within their own frontiers for the final struggle for freedom.

Sextus Pompeius seizes upon Sicily.

With Sextus indeed the liberators had had little direct communication. Whether they distrusted the associate of brigands and pirates, who never scrupled to enlist even slaves under his banners, or whether they shrank from the heir to the name and claims of Pompeius, the genuine patriots of the senatorial party were disposed to fight their own battle alone. Sextus, after maintaining a long desultory contest with Cæsar's captains in Spain, having been driven from his retreats by Pollio, had been warmly received by the Massilians after the dictator's death From their secure haven he had observed the revival of the Cæsarean faction, and had accepted with alacrity the maritime command with which the senate, in its deepest despair, had invested him. While the triumvirs were concocting their schemes of murder and spoliation, he had silently collected a large fleet, and launched upon the waters of the Mediterranean, where he proceeded to wrest from their grasp the flourishing island of Sicily. Here he set up his standard, and soon received the submission of Bithynicus, the Cæsarean proprætor,[1] while his vessels ran along the coast and signalled the fugitive proscripts. It was among the first cares of the triumvirs, when firmly seated in power, to contest the sovereignty of

[1] Appian, *B. C.* iv. 84.

the sea with an enemy so near and so audacious. While Lepidus retained as consul the government of the city and the general supervision of the general interests in Italy, while Antonius undertook, as the most experienced in military command, to confront the vast armaments collected under the republican banner in the East, Octavius was charged with the task of assailing Sextus in his insular stronghold. For this service a fleet of war galleys was equipped in the ports of Ostia and Misenum, and Salvidienus was ordered to engage the flotilla which the young Pompeius had mustered with the friendly aid of the roving pirates of the Mediterranean. But their light vessels were better found, and proved more manageable in the shifting currents of the straits of Messana, where the fleets met, than the heavier barks which were brought against them. Salvidienus was compelled to withdraw, with the loss of an equal number of ships with the enemy, which implies a much greater loss of men, stores, and materials. Octavius had descended to the extreme point of the Bruttian peninsula with a large force to support his naval operations; but finding the means of transport cut off, or, as he himself announced, being summoned peremptorily to his colleague's assistance, he broke up from Rhegium where his quarters lay, and directed his march to Brundisium.

Antonius arms against the republicans, Octavius against Sextus.

Octavius unable to cope with Sextus by sea, prepares to join Antonius in the East.

Meanwhile a large division of the triumvirs' forces had been thrown into Macedonia under the command of Norbanus and Decidius Saxa. The passage of the Ionian Gulf, it seems, had not been disputed, and it was not till after several legions had landed that Statius Murcus, who commanded the republican fleets, took up an attitude of observation off the coast of Apulia.[1]

The chiefs of either party unite their forces, and confront each other near Philippi in Thrace.

[1] Dion, xlvii. 35.

Brutus and Cassius were both at this moment in Asia, engaged in the chastisement or plunder of Rhodes and Xanthus, and the Antonian forces were allowed to penetrate unchecked through Macedonia into Thrace, and to close the defiles of the Rhodope against the republican leaders. The liberators now united their legions with tardy resolution, and crossed the Bosphorus, while Antonius on the other hand was hastening to support his advanced corps, and taking advantage of every favourable breeze to waft men and stores across the Ionian. Murcus was unable to cope with the skill or good fortune of the Cæsarean navigators. Antonius crossed in safety first, and was shortly followed by Octavius, who was detained however by sickness at Dyrrhachium, while his colleague hastened to join his lieutenants at Philippi, and by his sudden and opportune arrival saved them from the attack of an overwhelming enemy. The republicans finding the passes barred against them had turned Norbanus's flank by a circuitous route. They occupied two hills facing the city just named, to the south-east, their left flank resting on the sea. They connected their double camp with a long line of rampart, and blocked up the hollow between the hills, through which lay the direct communication with the East. Brutus posted himself on the right, Cassius on the left of these eminences.[1] Their legions amounted to nineteen in number; they were not all raised to their full complement, but counted not less than eighty-thousand effective combatants among them. Their cavalry was estimated at twenty thousand, an unusually large proportion, and the rear and flanks of their position were thronged, if not encumbered, by masses of Oriental auxiliaries. The news of a partial check

[1] Appian, *B. C.* iv. 107.; Dion, xlvii. 35. Col. Leake has shown that our historians' accounts tally sufficiently well with the actual localities.

sustained by Antonius reached Octavius on his sick bed. He feared lest his colleague should either lose or win a battle in his own absence; for in the one case he should be unable to withstand alone the victorious republicans, in the other he anticipated that Antonius would speedily turn his arms against himself. Though not yet recovered from his sickness, he caused himself to be carried along with his soldiers on their march, and effected a junction with the other legions, which were now encamped between Amphipolis and Philippi. The three combined armies now outnumbered the republican forces; for though they counted but nineteen legions among them, yet each of these corps rather exceeded than fell below its proper complement. The cavalry of the triumvirs amounted only to thirteen thousand, and their position in a plain liable to inundation from the river Nestus, was disadvantageous; though the very boldness with which they occupied it and challenged the enemy to quit his strongholds to attack it, struck terror at the outset into the hearts of their adversaries.

Their armies far more numerous than those which fought at Pharsalia.

The battle of Philippi, in the estimation of the Roman writers, was the most memorable conflict in their military annals. The numbers engaged on either side far exceed all former experience. Eighty thousand legionaries alone were counted on the one side, and perhaps an hundred and twenty thousand on the other, at least three times as many as fought at Pharsalia. To maintain such immense numbers constantly in a state for active service required all the resources of unscrupulous ingenuity in their commanders. Brutus and Cassius had kept detachments in constant motion from place to place, inventing pretexts, as they exhausted the supplies of one locality, for extorting money and stores from another. The oppression exercised by officers and

men upon the natives wherever they were quartered, could not fail to breed impatience and excite tumultuary resistance, and these again furnished excuses for redoubled exactions. The two years during which these proconsuls governed the East cost the provincials not less perhaps of blood and suffering than the ravages of Mithridates, and swelled the cry of the miserable nations for peace at any price, and security under any form of government. The triumvirs may have watched with satisfaction the sure effect of this systematic tyranny in estranging the provinces from the cause of the republic: but neither could they move their vast multitudes to the scene of action without great efforts, pressing exactions, and the loss of much time. Antonius and his colleague had quitted Rome, the one for Brundisium, the other for Rhegium at the beginning of the year; but it was not till the commencement of summer that the former crossed the sea. He had sent forward his first division, as we have seen, under Norbanus and Saxa; but he could not follow them without interposing an interval of some weeks or months. Money was wanting to feed, clothe, and pay the legions; arms and magazines must be provided; tribunes and centurions strayed from their ranks in the relaxation of the ancient discipline, and could with difficulty be recalled to stated times and places, or when reassembled be kept strictly together. When at last the march began, it was not as in modern times, in which an army of an hundred thousand men may move on two or three parallel lines to the point of its destination. Two great military roads led from Rome to Brundisium, but from Dyrrhachium a single route passed through the heart of Macedonia, traversing long tracts of mountain and sterile plain, and leaving the abodes of opulence to the right and the left, in its impatience to reach its appointed terminus on the Hellespont;

so that the support of an army on the line of march was often precarious, and its advance necessarily slow. The rapidity of Cæsar's movements was justly celebrated. He considered speed the first element of success, and in order to attain it he restrained his numbers to the lowest limit. He relied upon training and discipline to supply the place of numbers. He preferred one veteran to a handful of recruits, and the twenty thousand combatants with whom he conquered at Pharsalia could move with many times the speed of such masses as now advanced towards each other, while they could engage, perhaps, on equal terms, with many times their own number of less practised swordsmen. It was not till late in the autumn that the three armies of the triumvirs had assembled in their camp at Amphipolis, and there, being destitute of magazines, and having no communication with the sea, they had no choice but to engage at once.[1] The republican generals were surprised and alarmed at the readiness they displayed for the encounter at the moment of their arrival; but in fact delay would have been ruinous, and the promptitude with which they sought the combat was a sign of weakness and not of strength. Had their opponents known how to profit by their excellent position and collateral advantages, the fate of Rome would have been decided elsewhere than on the field of Philippi.

The republic perished in the battle of Philippi.

But the great battle which ensued was memorable in the Roman annals on another account also. It was on that field that the republic perished. At Pharsalia the contest had been between Cæsar and Pompeius: it was the

[1] Appian, *B. C.* iv. 122.: ἐδεδοίκεσαν τὸν χειμῶνα προσιόντα. Comp. Plut, *Brut.* 47.: χειμῶνα μοχθηρὸν προσδοκῶσιν. Suetonius, in fixing the birth of Tiberius to November 16 of this year, says that it was after the battle of Philippi. Comp. Dion, vii 18. This is the nearest approximation we can get to the exact date.

crisis of the personal rivalry of two competitors for supreme power. We shall remark the same of another great engagement which is yet to follow, the third great battle of the civil wars, the decisive contest of Actium. The republic will lie slain before us, and the struggle will be between Antonius and Octavius over its dead body. But at Philippi there were still chiefs who fought honestly for the republic, and for what they believed to be the common weal. Weak, wavering, and hasty as they had proved themselves at every crisis of their cause, they betrayed at least no selfish views of personal aggrandisement. But the patriot leaders sufficiently proved by their own example since Cæsar's death, that the continuance of legitimate government was impossible. The authority they held in the provinces they had seized for the good of the state indeed, but in direct defiance of its authority; their only plea being the appointment of the very tyrant whom they had murdered, and whose acts they had denounced. Cassius rebuked Brutus for controlling the profligate corruption of one of their adherents, L. Pella; and Brutus before his last battle promised his soldiers the plunder of Thessalonica and Lacedæmon.[1] The philosopher indeed renounced all confidence in his own principles. He had adopted them from reading or imitation, they were not the natural growth of instinct or genuine reflection, and as may easily happen in such a case, his faith in them failed when they were tested by adversity. As long as there seemed a chance that the *godlike stroke* would be justified by success, Brutus claimed the glory of maintaining a righteous cause; but when all hope fled, he could take leave of philosophy and life together, and exclaim, *I once dreamed that virtue was a thing, I find her*

[1] The Lacedæmonians sent aid to the triumvirs. We are left to guess the provocation they had received.

only a name, and the mere slave of fortune.[1] He had blamed Cato for flying from misery by self-murder; but he learnt to justify the same desperate act when he contemplated committing it himself.[2] The legend that when preparing for the encounter with the triumvirs he was visited by the ghost of Cæsar, which summoned him to meet again at Philippi, marks the conviction of the ancients that in the crisis of his fate he was stung by guilty remorse, and haunted by the presentiment of final retribution.

Account of the battle of Philippi.

The republican leaders had debated between themselves the tactics they should adopt for the campaign, and the counsel of the more experienced Cassius, who wished to protract the contest and shift it to the eastern side of the Hellespont, had been overruled by the impatience of Brutus, who ascribed his colleague's hesitation to fear, while he was unconscious that his own impetuosity arose rather from disgust and weariness than from any settled conviction on military grounds. At the last moment, when the Antonians challenged their opponents to commence the attack, Cassius would have removed from his position and retreated upon Asia. But Brutus had set his life and fortunes on the event of the morrow, and insisted upon giving battle. Posted on the right wing with the larger half of the combined forces, he was confronted by the legions under the command of Octavius. The eagerness of his soldiers, stimulated by a lavish gratuity, anticipated the word of command, and they rushed with overwhelming force on their adversaries, who speedily gave way, bearing along with them their leader, still feeble from sickness, and so hotly

[1] Dion (xlvii. 49.) quoting the lines of an unknown dramatist:

Ὦ τλῆμον ἀρετὴ, λόγος ἄρ' ἦσθ', ἐγὼ δέ σε
Ὡς ἔργον ἤσκουν· σὺ δ' ἄρ' ἐδούλευες τύχῃ.

[2] Plut. *Brut.* 40.

pressed that the litter from which he had just been removed was pierced through and through by the exulting pursuers. Brutus stormed the enemy's camp and cut three legions in pieces: but in the meantime Antonius on the right had gained an advantage hardly less decisive over Cassius, whose operations were as feeble and slow as his associate's had been hasty and impetuous. Cassius was defective in eyesight: he mistook the scouts sent in quest of him by Brutus for a detachment of the enemy's horse; and when they saluted and embraced his lieutenant Titinius, he could not be convinced but that they had seized and massacred him. The battle, then, was lost, the cause was desperate, and now his friend was slaughtered, as he deemed, before his eyes. He upbraided himself for having lived too long, and skulking into a tent desired his freedman Pindarus to give him the fatal blow. He had schooled him for this last service in the most imminent peril of the flight from Carrhæ; and he now exacted it. Such was the story; but who was there to attest it? His head was found severed from his body, but Pindarus was never seen again, and the rumour was widely spread that he had slain his patron by secret treachery. Such are the uncertainties of history! Such is the doubt which hangs over the crowning exploit of one whom a partial annalist pronounced the last of the Romans![1]

First engagement: Brutus successful against Octavius, while Antonius has the advantage over Cassius.

Cassius commits suicide.

Brutus, even if he discovered the extent of the disaster on his left in time to repair it, was unable to bring up his legions, scattered as they were in pursuit or plunder. His loss had been much less than that of the Octavians, nor had the division of Cassius,

Brutus is incompetent to maintain the discipline of his troops, who force him to fight again.

[1] Plutarch, *Brut* 43. The expression in the text is attributed to Cremutius Cordus by Tacitus, *Ann.* IV. 34. Plutarch and Appian ascribe it to Brutus himself.

which had fled almost without a blow, suffered any serious damage. But in the mean and cowardly self-sacrifice of its commander the cause had suffered a shock from which it could not recover. The moral effect of his fatal deed dismayed the army and subdued the energies of its surviving leader. Cassius had controlled the turbulence of his soldiers by his rigorous discipline and martial bearing; but the mild student who now remained to console them in their shame, and restore them to confidence, had little influence over their reckless passions. In vain did he scatter money among them, and hold out magnificent hopes of future spoil, while he reluctantly surrendered to their vindictive cruelty the lives of many of his captives. Day by day the legionaries as well as the auxiliaries deserted his standard. Meanwhile the enemy, who had suffered much more severely in the late engagement, became seriously distressed by the inconvenience of their position, and were menaced both with famine and sickness. Two legions, among which was the Martian, were cut off by the cruisers of Murcus, in crossing the Ionian straits. It was impossible for the triumvirs to maintain their attitude as assailants, and Brutus might have awaited in security the retirement, if not the dispersion, of their unwieldy multitudes. But the murmurs of a part of his troops, who could neither win a battle nor be satisfied to decline one, forced him against his will to lead forth his army and meet the enemy, who was more anxious than ever to press the struggle to an issue.

Second engagement at Philippi. Defeat of the republicans.

The battle of Philippi was renewed on the same ground after an interval of twenty days. It was well contested: there was no sudden and overwhelming onset on the one side, no panic terror and confusion on the other; but both armies advanced to the sword's point with unbroken ranks, and throughout the whole line

man challenged man, and each that fell was replaced by a resolute successor. Slowly and gradually, after hours of mutual slaughter, the Cæsareans seemed to gather strength and weight, and at last shattered the foremost ranks of the republicans. When the first line wavered, the second and third yielded to the pressure; all support was withdrawn, and the incumbent mass of the conquerors rushed headlong over the bodies of their adversaries. Among the slain was Marcus, the son of the illustrious Cato, who died a soldier's death, such as his father should have envied, refusing to fly or to yield, baring his head that he might be recognised, and falling upon a heap of slaughtered enemies. Octavius beleaguered the camp into which the fugitives had poured in confusion, while Antonius urged the pursuit of the scattered multitudes, streaming towards the mountains or the sea. Brutus kept together a force of four legions, with which he gained a secure position among the hills to the rear of his camp; but the slaughter had reached even to the verge of his lines, and Antonius watched him through the night behind a rampart of corpses. The next day he would have made a last effort to break through the ranks of his assailants, and succour the remnant which still occupied the camp. But the soldiers sullenly refused to buckle on their armour again. They bluntly bade their general shift for himself; they had tried the chance of war often enough, and would do no more to cut themselves off from the prospect of quarter. Every hope was fled: the hope of victory, the hope of liberty, even the last hope of dying gloriously in battle. But indignity worse than death might still remain. Brutus retired with a few attendants to a woody covert by the banks of a stream, where he might snatch a few hours of rest and concealment. Here he lamented his slaughtered friends, and

invoked, as with his dying breath, retribution upon the head of his enemies. But, as if yet undetermined, he despatched a messenger, to penetrate if possible within the camp, and report the condition of its defenders. Then, hardly waiting for his return, he drew aside his companions one by one, and besought them to strike him to the heart, or hold the point of his sword for himself to fall upon. One after another they all shrank from the horrid service; but as the night drew on, and it became necessary to remove further, he sprang to his feet with desperate resolution, exclaiming, *We must indeed flee, but it shall be with our hands.* Then at last Brutus accomplished the meditated stroke; but it was still uncertain whether he held his own sword and threw himself upon it, or prevailed on an attendant to steady the point against his breast. Several of his officers followed his example. Labeo, having dug himself a grave in his tent, enfranchised a slave, and thrusting a weapon into his hand bade him strike home. The ferocity of the victors had been proved by the proscriptions; those who despaired of resisting dared not surrender now, as they had so promptly done at Pharsalia and Munda. Now at last the liberators confessed by their own act of self-murder how much for the worse their change of masters had been.[1] It is affirmed, however, that Antonius caused the body of Brutus to be wrapped in purple, and transmitted to his mother Servilia for interment. Porcia's vehement spirit indeed, if we may credit the popular account, was not satisfied with the performance of this last duty. Having threatened self-destruction, she was watched by her attendants, and all apparent means of death removed

Brutus kills himself.

[1] Seutonius, it must be remarked, affirms (*Oct.* 13) that Octavius behaved with great cruelty to his prisoners after this victory.

from her: but she filled her mouth with coals from a burning brazier, pressed her lips firmly together and perished by suffocation.[1]

[1] Appian, *B. C.* iv. 136.; Plut. *Brut.* 53., but the latter writer throws some doubt upon the story, or at least upon the motive assigned for it. It has been suggested that she may have inhaled the fumes of charcoal. Comp. the death of Catulus in Florus, iii. 21., "ignis haustu," with the expression of Velleius, ii. 22., "exitiali hausto spiritu." Regarding the battle of Philippi a curious error was perpetuated among the Roman writers. They persisted in representing it as fought on the same spot as the battle of Pharsalia. The name of Macedonia was given by the Romans to the whole region between the Adriatic and the Hellespont, and such names as Emathia, Hæmonia, were applied very loosely by their poets. I am inclined however to think that the mistake arose from an ambiguity in Virgil's lines, which became a *locus classicus* with succeeding writers:

"Ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis
Romanas acies *iterum* videre Philippi:
Nec fuit indignum superis *bis* sanguine nostro
Emathiam et latos Hæmi pinguescere campos."

The poet here refers to two distinct battles, one in Thessaly (Emathia is not a correct term), the other in Thrace, but the words might very easily mislead. The site of the battles is accordingly confounded by Manilius, i. 908., Ovid. *Met.* xv. 824., Florus, iv. 2., Lucan, i. 680., vii. 854., ix. 271., Juvenal, viii. 242. The mistake may have been favoured by the fact of the double engagement at Philippi. For this meaning of *bis* comp. *Georg.* iii. 33. "Bisque triumphatas utroque ab litore gentes," *i. e.* once on either shore.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Antonius assumes the government of the Eastern provinces, and Octavius of the Western.—Lepidus commands in Africa.—Cleopatra fascinates Antonius (712), who repairs to her at Alexandria.—Insurrection of L. Antonius, and war of Perusia (713).—Reconciliation of the Triumvirs: treaty of Brundisium: peace restored to Italy.—Treaty of Misenum and admission of Sextus Pompeius to a share of power (715).—Ventidius triumphs over the Parthians.—Quarrel of the Triumvirs with Sextus.—Octavius arms against him and is defeated (716).—Treaty of Tarentum.—The Triumvirate is renewed for five years (717).—Agrippa commands the Octavian fleet.—Second campaign against Sextus.—Encounters with various success.—Agrippa's great victory (718).—Lepidus attacks Octavius, is deserted by his soldiers, captured and deposed from power.—Sextus flies to the East and is there slain (719).—Extinction of the senatorial faction.—Octavius commands in Rome.—Honours heaped upon him.—His salutary measures.—His ministers Agrippa and Mæcenas: his matrimonial alliances. (A.U. 712—719. B.C. 42—35.)

Many of the republican officers make terms with the conquerors.

The self-destruction of the chiefs of the republican cause was much more effectual in breaking up their disheartened and deserted party than the vicissitudes of fortune on the plains of Philippi. The loss of men on the side of the vanquished had not been considerable; but the legionaries, of whom a large number had formerly served in Cæsar's ranks, and who were bound to their actual service by no other motive than the hope of plunder, were no longer disposed to support a cause which its own leaders had surrendered as hopeless. They accordingly passed over in large bodies to the other side. Of their officers many hastened to attach themselves to one or other of the triumvirs. The younger men, to whom war had not become a trade, and who might hope for distinction in another career, were glad to

renounce for ever a profession which they had embraced perhaps in a moment of blind enthusiasm. Such a man was Horace, who had offered his services to Brutus together with young Cicero, the orator's son, and doubtless many other generous students of the Athenian lecture-rooms. Horace lived to merit the favour of Octavius, and to repay it with immortal verse. In his days of ease and security he could afford to raise a smile against himself as the runaway of Philippi, who abandoned his shield to expedite his flight, while the braggarts of the morning lay sprawling in the dust.[1] It would have been impolitic perhaps to remind even the kindest of patrons of the previous action on that same field, in which the Brutians drove the Cæsareans before them, seized their camp, and pierced their general's litter; but history may restore the recreant minstrel to the honours he abjured, and claim for him his rightful share in that ineffectual victory.

Antonius undertakes the subjugation of the eastern provinces, while Octavius returns to Italy.

Some however of the most illustrious of the surviving nobility carried over a few followers to Thasos, which of all the Ægean islands lay nearest to the scene of action. The command of the sea gave them the means of communicating with the detachments of their force which had been left in Asia, and also with their fleet in the Ionian gulf. Valerius Messala, who had stood next to the liberators themselves, in influence and authority among them [2], and who headed this band of fugitives, now counselled

[1] Hor. *Od.* ii. 7.

[2] Vell. ii. 71.: "Messala fulgentissimus juvenis proximus in illis castris Bruti et Cassii auctoritati." Horace addressed an old comrade with the words,

"Te rursus in bellum resorbens
Unda fretis tulit æstuosis."

Is this merely a metaphor, or had the poet in his mind's eye a vision of the flotilla which he had seen wafting the fugitives across the high seas?

submission; but while he with L. Bibulus and others gave in his adhesion to Antonius, the rest joined the armaments of Cassius Parmensis, Clodius, Turulius, and the young Cicero, and betook themselves to the standards of Murcus or of Sextus Pompeius, which still floated triumphantly in the West. The opposite half of the Roman possessions fell at once into the hands of the victors. While Octavius, whose health precluded him from more active exertions, prepared to return to Italy, Antonius undertook the government of the Asiatic provinces, and the consolidation of the authority of the triple league over the dependent potentates of the Eastern frontier. At the same time the presence of a large and still augmenting hostile force in Sicily, Sardinia, and the seas surrounding Italy, compelled them to grasp the control of the provinces nearest the capital also; and under pretence that Lepidus, their absent colleague, was intriguing with Sextus, they assigned to themselves the supreme command in Spain, the Cisalpine, and the two provinces of Africa. They deigned indeed to intimate to Lepidus that the districts last mentioned should be restored to him, if he should succeed in clearing himself from the charge advanced against him; but if he presumed to resist their decree, Octavius was prepared to coerce him with an overwhelming force. Lepidus however had neither the strength nor the spirit to defend himself. He was easily induced to make the submission required, and was rewarded with the gift of the provinces of Africa. Meanwhile the veterans pressed their demands for lands and money. Octavius undertook to make new assignments of territory, and formed new colonies in Italy, while Antonius proceeded to repeat the same course of exaction and plunder throughout the East which had already ranked the name of Brutus among

They compel Lepidus to surrender the command in Italy, and content himself with the government of Africa.

Exactions of Antonius in Asia.

the spoilers of Asia. He had the merit at least of proclaiming without reserve the motive of his demands. *You deserve death for rebellion*, he declared to the Pergamenes: *this penalty I will remit; but I want money, for I have twenty-eight legions, which with their auxiliary battalions amount to* 170,000 *men, besides cavalry and detachments in other quarters.*[1] *I leave you to conceive what a mass of money must be required to maintain such armaments. My colleague has gone to Italy to divide its soil among these soldiers, and to expel, so to speak, the Italians from their own country. Your lands we do not demand; but instead thereof we will have money. And when you hear how easily, after all, we shall be contented, you will, we conceive, be satisfied to pay and be quit of us. We demand only the same sum which you have contributed during the last two years to our adversaries; that is to say, the tribute of ten years; but our necessities compel us to insist upon receiving this sum within twelve months.*[2] The case of the Pergamenes was common to all the states which had submitted to the republican proconsuls. On Xanthus, Rhodes, and Athens, and other cities which had suffered still more severely in consequence of their resistance to Brutus, the conqueror bestowed favours and immunities: but his hand fell heavy upon Phrygia, Mysia, Gallogræcia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Cœle-Syria, Palestine, Ituræa, and the other districts of Syria. The treasures indeed he grasped at were mostly squandered before they

[1] Appian (*B.C.* v. 5.) says that the number of legions to which lands and gratuities were promised on the establishment of the triumvirate amounted to forty-three, and supposes that the smaller number here mentioned, was that to which they were reduced by the losses of the campaign, which seems a very unsatisfactory explanation. I should rather suppose the fifteen legions to be the ὅμιλος ἑτέρου στρατοῦ, which I have rendered loosely in the text, and the twenty-eight those which were engaged in the actual campaign.

[2] Appian, *l. c.* The demand was eventually reduced to nine years' tribute within two years.

reached his hands by flatterers and parasites, the ministers of his licentious pleasures; and to the despoiled it was little consolation that he was more immoderate in rewarding his favourites than in chastising his foes; or that his rude good humour could endure to be bantered by the associates of his revels.[1]

Cleopatra seeks an interview with Antonius

Among other political affairs, the triumvir decided the appeals of rival claimants to dependent kingdoms; and in these cases he was swayed by his own wanton passions not less than by the demands of his policy. On his passage through Cilicia, whither he arrived in the summer of 713, he was met by Cleopatra, who sallied forth from Alexandria to deprecate the wrath of the conqueror, conscious of her crime in withholding aid from the avengers of her lover's murder. She might indeed reasonably allege the imminent peril to which she had been subjected by the legions of Cassius which menaced her unprotected realm: nevertheless she could plead some efforts in the cause of the triumvirs; she could declare that the armament she had equipped for Dolabella had only been detained in port by stress of weather, and that she was prepared to accompany the expedition in person, had she not been prevented by sickness. It was not however the intrinsic strength of her arguments, but the beauty and genius by which they were enforced, that overcame the amorous Roman. She had quitted her capital for the coast of Cilicia, and ascended the Cydnus, in a bark with gilded stern and purple sails, rowed with silver oars to the sound of pipes and lutes. The goddess of Love was seen reclining under a spangled canopy, attended by Cupids, Graces, and Nereids, and the air around seemed perfumed with the odours of Olympus. As

Her splendid equipage

[1] Plut. *Anton.* 25.

she approached the quay of Tarsus the people rushed to behold the brilliant spectacle, and left the proconsul alone on his tribunal in the forum. When he summoned her to his presence, she replied by inviting him to wait upon herself, and when he gallantly complied his doom was sealed.[1] Antonius, who had first seen and admired the queen of Egypt in the suite of Gabinius, but prudently abstained from rivalry with his master Cæsar, now submitted to be the slave of her wildest caprices, and the instrument of her most barbarous mandates. At her instigation he caused the wretched Arsinoe to be murdered at the altar of Artemis in Miletus, and compelled the citizens of Tyre and Aradus to surrender to her vengeance some illustrious suppliants who had invoked their protection. Her brother and consort Ptolemæus she had already removed, as was surmised, by poison. Following her to Alexandria the triumvir devoted the autumn and winter to the unrestrained enjoyment of luxury and sloth. He relinquished the duties of an imperator, assumed the ordinary dress of the Greeks, frequented the temples, gymnasiums, and museums of the professors, as a private sojourner in the capital of Oriental philosophy; and thus offered up the pride of the Roman proconsul upon the shrine of the goddess of his lawless affections.[2]

She fascinates the triumvir, who follows her to Alexandria in the autumn of 713.

Octavius meanwhile was master of half the Roman world, and, still more, he continued master of himself. On his way towards Rome the sickness under which he had recently suffered attacked him with redoubled violence, and his life was in imminent danger. But Providence spared

Octavius in Rome. His measures for satisfying the soldiery.

[1] Plutarch, *Anton.* 26. Athenæus (iv. 29.) commemorates in considerable detail the magnificence of Cleopatra's fête, and Plutarch notices the vain attempts the rude Roman made to rival the taste of the Egyptian. Comp. Lucan, x. 110. foll.: "Nondum translatos Romana in sæcula luxus."

[2] Appian, *B. C.* v. 11.; Plutarch, *Anton.* 28.: Athenæus, *l. c.*

him for the great work which he had to do, and of which his rival was manifestly incapable. Italy awaited in breathless expectation the violence which she must expect to suffer. While Antonius undertook to extort the treasures requisite for the payment of the soldiery, he left to his colleague the more delicate and perilous task of assigning them their promised estates, and settling them in colonies throughout Italy. Every veteran was to receive from fifty to three hundred jugers of land, the population of unfriendly cities was to be expelled to make room for them, and when these confiscations proved insufficient, the exchange, purchase or surrender of still ampler territories was to be negotiated. But no remittances came from Asia to Italy; the exchequer of the capital was exhausted; twenty-seven legions of disbanded veterans clamoured for the fulfilment of their compact: whole cities with their adjacent districts were ceded to them; Confiscation of
and the spoliation spread from the suburban lands in Italy.
lands to remote tracts, from municipal to private possessions. Even loyalty to the Cæsarean party proved of no avail: the faithful Mantua shared the fate of its neighbour the disaffected Cremona; and the little township of Andes in the Mantuan territory was involved in the calamities of its metropolis. The confiscations indeed in the Transpadane province had commenced upon the first formation of the triple league, when Pollio was appointed to command there for Antonius. The legatus, himself a lover of literature, had extended his sympathy to the youthful poet Virgil, who was one of the sufferers by this first confiscation. Virgil's modest patrimony had been restored to him, but it was menaced again by this second assignment; and it is to the pilgrimage he now made to Rome, to his application to Mæcenas, the councillor of Octavius, and to Octavius himself, that we owe the piece which stands first in the series

of his undoubted works, and eventually perhaps the composition of his two immortal poems, which drew their inspiration from the fountain of imperial favour. Virgil was treated with kindness, and his petition crowned with success; but his good fortune was a rare exception to the calamity which overwhelmed many thousand proprietors. Three of his most celebrated rivals in literature, Horace, Tibullus, and Propertius, were involved in the same sweeping confiscation.[1] The condition of the Ofellus of Horace's satire, who cultivates as a labourer the fields of which he had been dispossessed as a landlord, and consoles himself with sage reflections on the perpetual flux of property from hand to hand[2], was realized by a large class of rural proprietors, among whom the descendants of the Sullan colonists were perhaps the most indignant and the least commiserated. But this was not a time in which such injustice could be perpetrated with impunity. The elements of war were fermenting throughout the peninsula; thousands of broken fortunes were suddenly thrown into the floating mass of discontent, which wanted only this ingredient to boil over in a new revolution.

Consuls, 713, L. Antonius and P. Servilius Isauricus II

The consuls of the year 713 were L. Antonius, the triumvir's brother, and for the second time Servilius Isauricus. Lucius watched with ambitious aspirations the renewed distractions of Italy. He tampered with the Cæsarean veterans, affirming that the upstart Octavius, an unworthy heir to the great warrior, was intriguing to undermine his nobler colleague. At the same time he listened to the murmurs of the dispossessed Italians, who, thronging into the city with their wives and children, made the temples and forums resound with their groans and impreca-

[1] Hor. *Ep.* ii. 2. 50.; Tibull. i. 1. 19.; Propert. iv. 1. 129.
[2] Hor. *Sat.* ii. 2. 112.

tions.[1] He condoled with them on their sufferings, and offered himself as their advocate in the senate or their leader in the field. Lucius acted in consort with Fulvia, a woman whose roving passions had at last fixed on a husband whom she could not retain. In order to recover possession of the man she lusted after, she was eager to fan the flames of civil war; for she knew that nothing but a strong political exigency could rouse him from his voluptuous slumbers.[2] In this crisis both Lepidus and Servilius shrank from action. The intrinsic justice of the cause may have animated some nobler spirits, such as Tiberius Nero, but the majority of the republican chiefs favoured any movement which might afford them a chance of regaining their ascendancy. Lucius indeed proclaimed himself the defender of his brother's interests, and assumed the surname of Pietas, to signalize his fraternal zeal.[3] Octavius, whose position was eminently perplexing, offered ample concessions. But the consul's aims were really selfish; the increasing difficulties of the times, enhanced by impending famine in the city, and the unchecked turbulence of the urban population, inspired him with the most flattering hopes. Before the completion of his year of office he threw off the mask, joined Fulvia at Præneste, and unfurled his banner to the breezes of disaffection from whatever quarter they might blow.

L. Antonius heads a rising in Italy.

Formidable indeed were the forces which the new allies had at their command. While the veteran legions insisted on their discharge, the consul had obtained authority to levy six fresh corps, and Calenus promised to bring him

He effects a formidable combination against Octavius;

[1] Appian, *B.C.* v. 12

[2] Martial has preserved an epigram ascribed in his day to Octavius himself, in which the writer charges Fulvia in language of "true Roman plainness," that is, of shameless coarseness, with having fruitlessly courted him in revenge for one of her husband's infidelities. Martial, xi. 20.

[3] Dion, xlviii. 5.

eleven more which were stationed on either side of the Alps. The talents of Ventidius were also placed at his disposal; even Pollio countenanced his enterprise, and money flowed to him from the provinces in the east or the west which were administered by his brother's lieutenants. He excited resistance to the authority of Octavius in the provinces under his command, and beheld with satisfaction the increasing power of Sextus in the islands, and the threatening attitude of Domitius, who maintained a republican armament in the Ionian gulf. Octavius, on the other hand, had only four legions under arms in Italy, together with the prætorian cohorts attached to his own person. He promptly recalled Salvidienus from Spain, whither he was conducting a force of six legions. His want of money he supplied by drawing largely upon some hoards yet, it appears, untouched in the Capitol, and borrowing from the rich temples of Antium, Lanuvium, Nemus, and Tibur. But the military genius and devoted enthusiasm of his friend Agrippa were of more service to him than either men or money. Though compelled for a moment to abandon Rome itself to a superior force, he profited by treachery in the enemy's camp, and soon reduced Lucius to the necessity of retiring towards the Cisalpine. The retreating army occupied Perusia, a place of uncommon strength, where it might hope to await in safety the arrival of succours from Pollio and Ventidius, while Fulvia despatched some hasty levies under Plancus to its assistance. But the first cloud of disaster discomfited these faithless auxiliaries. Pollio stopped short at Ravenna; Ventidius came no nearer than Ariminum; Plancus kept close within the defences of Spoletium. Octavius drew his lines round the impregnable works of Perusia, and sat himself down to reduce the fugitives by famine. Lucius made a furious sally, Ventidius

but is blockaded in Perusia

essayed a diversion; but neither could obtain any effectual advantage. The Antonians became more and more pressed for provisions; but their leader was obstinate, they themselves were pitiless. Then was consummated one of the most frightful acts of all recorded history: unable to feed the useless crowd of slaves which thronged their quarters, and apprehensive lest, if allowed to leave the city, their flight should betray to the enemy the extent to which famine was pressing upon them, they refused rations to the miserable multitude, and at the same time forbade their egress. While Lucius and his soldiers barely supported life on the scantiest daily allowance, the slaves perished before their eyes, and were hastily shovelled into the earth as they fell, that the smoke of the funeral pyres might not advertise the enemy of the mortality occurring within the walls. The progress of the Perusian famine was slow, but it failed not to accomplish the views of the besieger. Lucius was compelled at last to capitulate, and the conqueror appears to have allowed him to treat for more favourable terms than his circumstances could have encouraged him to claim. While every indulgence was guaranteed to the combatants, the city itself was to become the scapegoat of the insurrection. It was only saved from plunder by the furious act of one of its own citizens, who fired it and consumed it to ashes.[1] The victors, baulked of their prey, turned their vengeance upon the most illustrious of their captives, and either massacred them promiscuously, or forced their reluctant leader to surrender them to judicial punishment. A story obtained currency among a certain class of political pamphleteers, that Octavius selected three hundred of the number, and sacrificed them to the shade

The Perusian famine L. Antonius capitulates and is spared.

[1] Appian, *B. C.* v. 49.

of the murdered demigod Julius.[1] Such an act, it must be remarked, would have been totally alien from the spirit of the national observances, whatever may be thought of its harmony with the character of a partner in the proscriptions.

The insurrection is broken up. M. Antonius intrigues against Octavius.

Lucius escaped with his life, and his conqueror even found it his interest, at no distant period, to appoint him to a provincial command. His adherents Pollio, Plancus, Crassus, and Ateius, let their arms drop from their hands. The first allowed himself to be superseded in the Cisalpine by a trustier Octavian, Alfenus Varus; the second abandoned his soldiers and fled to Athens in company with Fulvia: others escaped to Antonius in Egypt, while even Domitius and Sextus profited by the fragments of the shattered conspiracy. Ventidius still kept some legions together; but he made no hostile movement, and Octavius seems to have abstained from molesting him. Calenus alone remained at the head of a large force; but he too was careful not to exasperate a placable antagonist, and his death occurred opportunely for the establishment of peace, and the undisputed supremacy of Octavius in the West. If throughout this campaign the allies of Antonius had proved themselves lukewarm or un-

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 15.: "Scribunt quidam." Dion, xlviii. 14.: ὡς λόγος γε ἔχει. Velleius says, "Magis ira militum quam voluntate sævitum ducis," and Appian takes a similar view. Such, no doubt, was the account given by Octavius himself in his memoirs, and followed by Nicolaus of Damascus. Seneca speaks of the "Perusinæ aræ," as a well-known story: still I think it is improbable; for if the massacre had been made under colour of a religious sacrifice, Octavius would not have disguised it; at all events Dion would have found it recorded in the national archives, from which he drew so much of his information. Compare the distorted account of the sacrifice of Mucius Scævola, where Valerius Maximus has substituted *jugularetur* (ix. 11. 2.) for the *vulneraretur* of Cicero (*pro Rosc. Amer.* 12.). Observe also the suspicious recurrence of the number 300, the same assigned to the apocryphal massacre of republicans by Cæsar after Thapsus, of legionaries by Antonius at Brundisium, of senators in the proscription.

faithful to his interests, they were not without an excuse in the reserve with which their chief had disguised his own intentions. He had detained their emissaries at Alexandria through the winter, while their operations were in progress, and it was not till the spring, when the elements of the rebellion were dispersed, that he tore himself from the fascinations of Egypt, like a man roused from sleep after a drunken debauch[1], and advanced deliberately by the route of Tyre, Cyprus, and Rhodes. But he had not been unemployed. He had been intriguing both with Sextus and Domitius: with the former he entered into an agreement for mutual support against the master of Italy, and he prevailed upon the latter to renounce the hopeless cause for which his father had perished at Pharsalia, to place his vessels at his disposal, and accompany him across the Ionian gulf.

Apprehensions of another civil war.

Octavius had already pacified Italy, and was occupied in re-organizing the administration of the Gallic provinces, which had been so long in the hands of his enemies, when he was apprised of this new attack. Brundisium was menaced by Antonius, while Sextus was hovering on the coast of Lucania and Apulia. Agrippa advanced to confront this new combination, and Octavius followed as speedily as his feeble health would permit. Antonius brought over troops from Macedonia, Sextus besieged Thurii and Consentia; the Cæsarean veterans flocked once more to the scene of blood and plunder; another civil war was smouldering in the embers of the Perusian conflagration. But it was now by the passions of the soldiers rather than of the commanders that this renewal of horrors was threatened. The armed bands which roamed the fields of Italy demanded occupation, and compelled their leaders to find them work. When however they came to measure their strength

The soldiers force their chiefs to an accommodation.

[1] Plut. *Anton.* 30.

together, to calculate their resources, to discuss the causes and prospects of another struggle, they came to an agreement among themselves, and insisted upon its ratification by their chiefs. The death of Fulvia, in the spring of the year 714, smoothed the way to a reconciliation. Neglected and perhaps rebuked by her husband for her presumptuous interference in public affairs, which had cost him the loss of so many legions, she fell sick at Sicyon, whither she had repaired to meet him on his route from Egypt, and there died. Mæcenas, Pollio, and Cocceius negotiated the terms of a new arrangement between the triumvirs in the course of the summer. Octavius had divorced Clodia in resentment at the perfidy of her family, and had straightway united himself with the illustrious house of the Scribonii. But on the death of Fulvia, Antonius in his turn was at liberty to seek an alliance with the family of his colleague by marrying his sister Octavia. Scribonia, it seems, was already pregnant by Octavius, and the new consort of Antonius was about to give birth to a child of a former husband Marcellus.[1] Pollio also had two sons born to him nearly at this time, though the dates of their birth are not accurately known. The near coincidence of all these distinguished births is connected with one of the most intricate questions of literary history. In his fourth Eclogue, addressed to Pollio, Virgil celebrates the peace of Brundisium, and anticipates, apparently, the birth of a wondrous boy, who shall restore the Saturnian age of gold, and rule

Death of Fulvia. The treaty of Brundisium: marriage of Antonius with Octavia, and of Octavius with Scribonia.

Virgil's fourth Eclogue.

[1] Dion, xlviii. 31. This child, if it was ever born, could not have been M. Marcellus, the "Tu Marcellus eris" of Virgil (*Æn.* vi. 884.); for the latter, if any credit can be given to the statement of Propertius, "Occidit et misero steterat *vicesimus* annus," must have been born A.U. 711; B.C. 43, as he certainly died B.C. 23. Being ædile at the time, we cannot suppose that he was really less than twenty years of age.

the world with all his father's excellence. The glowing language in which this reign of happiness is depicted breathes some portion of the spirit, while it appropriates almost every image, of the Messianic predictions. We are impelled to inquire to whom among the most illustrious offspring of this auspicious epoch it may be fitly referred. The noble children above mentioned have been severally put forward as candidates for the honour; but when every allowance has been made for the vague language of poetry and prophecy, no one of them can be held to satisfy the conditions required; and after all their claims have been weighed and dismissed, we are still at a loss for an object to whom, in the mind of the writer, the sublime vaticination can consistently be applied. We may presume however that the hope of a permanent pacification, and the yearning for an era of social tranquillity, were no less ardent than general among the citizens of the distracted commonwealth; and we may perhaps be content to suppose that, in adapting the strains of his inspired original, Virgil interpreted the common feelings of his countrymen, and darkly shadowed forth the character of the coming age itself, under the image of an offspring of the gods, a mighty emanation from Jove.[1]

[1] Virg. *Ecl.* iv. 49.:

"Cara deûm soboles, magnum Jovis incrementum."

I am constrained to adopt Heyne's solution of this curious enigma. Gibbon (*D. & F.* ch. xx.) leaves it unattempted, and contents himself with remarking that "the different claims of an elder and younger son of Pollio, of Livia, of Drusus, of Marcellus, are found to be incompatible with chronology, history, and the good sense of Virgil." Octavius himself, strange to say, has been also put forward as a candidate. There is no difficulty in supposing Virgil to have been acquainted with the prophetic portions of the Jewish Scriptures, if not directly, at least through the medium of the so-called Sibylline oracles. Nor can we doubt that the Jewish interpreters themselves favoured the idea that Isaiah's predictions were about to be fulfilled.

Tranquillity finally restored in Italy.

Even in a heathen's mouth the divine oracles might seem to retain some portion of their prophetic spirit. The aspirations of the young enthusiast were not wholly unfulfilled. The peace of Brundisium did at least secure the repose of Italy. For a period of three hundred and fifty years, except one day's fighting in the streets of Rome, from Rhegium to the Rubicon no swords were again crossed in war. So long a period of tranquillity among so large a portion of the human family is a fact unparalleled in the history of the world. Many of the recent movements, which history ascribes to the ambition of chiefs, were doubtless caused in reality by the licentious passions of the soldiery; it was the men that forced their leaders to ravage provinces and to plunder towns, and even to pass from one side to another, as caprice or cupidity prompted. But the peace of Brundisium finally consigned the centre of the empire to the control of the ablest of its statesmen, and the consolidation of a fixed government in Italy curbed and ultimately crushed the spirit of insubordination. The treaty indeed was hardly concluded before the troops of Octavius began to murmur angrily at the non-payment of the gratuities they expected. He withstood them with firmness, and now for the first time they learned that the spirit of the great dictator had descended upon a worthy successor. They were compelled to accept such terms as he chose to offer them, and marched, abashed and humiliated, in the ovation with which the triumvirs entered Rome. The nuptials of Antonius and Octavia were celebrated amidst general acclamations, a fit tribute to the bride's illustrious virtues. If any woman could frustrate the wiles of Cleopatra, and withdraw her infatuated lover from the sphere of her fascinations, such, it was fondly hoped, was the fair, the modest, and the discreet Octavia.[1] At the same time a

[1] Plutarch (*Ant.* 31.) calls her *χρῆμα θαυμαστὸν γυναικός*. Octavia was own sister to Octavius. This writer is undoubtedly mistaken

re-distribution was made of the provinces. Scodra in Illyricum now marked the limits of the dominion assigned to Octavius in the West, and Antonius in the East. Lepidus was allowed to retain Africa. Italy was declared to be the common possession of the triumvirs, among whom the insignificant Lepidus almost ceased to be counted. Antonius undertook to maintain the national quarrel with the Parthians, while his colleague charged himself with the care of treating with Sextus Pompeius, and reducing him by force of arms, if every other method should fail.

Hostile attitude of Sextus Pompeius.

Indeed the hostile attitude still preserved by this adventurer seemed, at least to superficial observers, the only obstacle to the establishment of a durable peace. The young Pompeius may be deemed perhaps unfortunate in having had his character drawn for us by the unfriendly hand of a courtier of the Cæsarean family, who may be suspected of a wish not only to palliate his patron's crimes, but to blacken their adversaries. Velleius declares that he was illiterate and rude in speech [1], impetuous and headstrong in action, hasty in judgment, disloyal to his country [2], the freedman of his freedmen, and the slave of his slaves, envious of all that was most noble, and the creature of all that was most base. But in fact the position assumed by Sextus could command neither favour nor justice from his countrymen, of whatever political predilections; for he associated with barbarians and outlaws, he contended openly for his own private objects, and,

in saying she was the daughter of C. Octavius by his first wife Ancharia.

[1] Vell. ii. 73.: "Sermone barbaro." Niebuhr draws our attention to this circumstance. "It is remarkable," he observes, "to see how at that time men who did not receive a thorough education would even neglect their own language and speak a barbarous and corrupt jargon."—*Lect. on Rom. Hist.* ii. 126.

[2] Vell. *l. c.*: "Fide patri dissimillimus." This writer always speaks with respect of the great Pompeius; in this place he contrasts his extirpation of the pirates with his son's shameful alliance with them.

while he received the remnant of the republicans under his banner, scorned the pretence of asserting any public cause. The parricidal aim of reducing Rome by famine had been ascribed to the father; it was deliberately adopted by the son. His undisputed command of the sea enabled him to cut off the corn ships from Africa and Egypt, while he held in his own hands the granaries of Sicily and Sardinia. Even in the midst of the general rejoicings at the nuptials of Antonius and Octavia the markets at Rome were rising to famine prices, and the murmurs of the populace were gradually swelling into cries of sedition and insurrection. Octavius, it was known, had undertaken to conciliate or subdue the last enemy of the people; let him be conciliated, exclaimed the multitude, on his own terms. It was only a question, they declared, of the government of one or two provinces; let Sextus then be satisfied, or woe to the selfish tyrants, who would see the people starve rather than let Sicily or Africa drop from their rapacious grasp. Octavius, with the concurrence of his colleagues, would have diverted the rising storm by declaring war against the public enemy; but it was impossible to provide funds. An attempt to impose a tax on slaves and legacies, a tax, that is, upon the richest class, excited hardly less general discontent than if it had fallen upon the lowest. The Roman patricians still possessed vast influence among their clients, the rabble of the streets, and employed it for their own protection. The triumvirs were assailed with stones in the Via Sacra, and only rescued from serious injury by the swords of the military. They were now constrained to come to terms with their antagonist. They employed the mediation of Libo, the father-in-law both of Sextus and Octavius: and the populace surrounding the house of Mucia, compelled her by threats to plead with her son the cause of reconciliation. On the other hand Sextus did

The people insist on his being conciliated.

not lack advisers who urged him to press his advantage, and make no peace till famine should force his opponents to submit to his dictation. But the giddy and frivolous young man, easily elated by the deference now paid him on all sides, yielded to the first overtures. He agreed to confer with the triumvirs in person, and sailed to meet them at Misenum. The conference was conducted with the same ceremony and precaution as that in the island of the Rhenus, and the result at which the contracting powers arrived was similar. Sextus was virtually admitted into partnership with the triumvirs. On condition of his withdrawing his ships and marines from the places he occupied on the coast of Italy, he was invested with full authority over the three great islands of the Tyrrhene sea, for the same number of years as was assigned to the commands of his colleagues. Achaia, also, according to some accounts, fell to his share in this distribution.[1] At the same time an amnesty was granted to all his adherents, excepting only the murderers of Cæsar; the restitution of their possessions was assured to them; liberty was offered to the numerous slaves who had served in his armaments, and to such of his soldiers as were already free, the usual military rewards of lands and money. Sextus promised in return to supply the city with corn from Sicily and Sardinia. The contract was formally drawn up and sealed, and then transmitted to Rome, and consigned to the custody of the Vestal Virgins. The puissant allies received each other, in turn, at sumptuous entertainments, in vessels moored to the mole of the harbour. The pretext for this arrangement was, that while the chiefs feasted together on board, their numerous followers might be

Treaty of Misenum.

[1] Vell. ii. 77.; Dion, xlviii. 34. He was gratified moreover with compensation for his father's property which Cæsar had confiscated, amounting, we are told, to fifteen millions and a half of drachmas. Zonaras, x. 22.

accommodated on the shore. In fact, however, Sextus could not venture on land, nor the triumvirs out at sea. It was reported that Menodorus, the Pompeian admiral, urged his leader to cut the moorings of his vessel, and carry off his rivals in it, but that Sextus rejected the tempting proposal, with the remark, *Would that Menodorus could do this without my order; such treachery might befit him well, but not a Pompeius.* The story wears a suspicious aspect, and we may reasonably conceive that it was accommodated to the known character of the faithless Greek, who betrayed, as will hereafter appear, all parties in turn. The festival of reconciliation was inaugurated with the betrothal of M. Marcellus, the infant whom Octavia had just borne to her late husband, and the daughter of Sextus. The succession of consuls for four years was determined: the first pair were to be Antonius and Libo; the second Octavius and Sextus; these were to be succeeded by Cnæus Domitius, the son of Lucius, and by Sosius; and when Antonius and Octavius should have followed these last, and completed their term, it was hoped that their lust of power would be satisfied, their own security established, and that their patriotism would then impel them, according to promise, to restore the commonwealth to freedom.[1]

[1] Appian, *B. C.* v. 73. The treaty of Misenum took place A.U. 715. It will be seen by reference to the fasti that the following years were not respectively designated by the names of these consuls. Octavius may have surrendered his turn to Agrippa in 717: certainly he was not consul during the course of these four years. Sextus Pompeius never attained the consulship. The consul of that name in the year 719 was another person (Dion, xlix. 18.). The names of C. Domitius and Sosius occur together in the year 722. Antonius became consul for the second time in 720, and resigned on the first day of the year. Octavius was appointed the second time in 721. Appian is not to be relied on in these matters. Drumann supposes that he meant to say that the years from 720—723 were disposed of as mentioned in the text, those from 716—719 remaining under a former arrangement. For the utter confusion into which the consular appointments fell at this time, see Dion, xlviii. 35., and below.

Sextus now bent his sails for Sicily, while his colleagues returned together to Rome, to enjoy for a moment the blaze of popularity in which they were at once enveloped. The city abandoned itself to a delirium of joy: the civil wars, it was augured, were now finally at an end; the youth of Italy would no longer be torn from their father's hearths; the soldiers no longer permitted to live at free quarters; there would be no more confiscation of lands, agriculture would raise her drooping head, above all, plenty would be restored, and abundance extirpate the first cause of war. The usurpers, as they passed along the roads, were surprised to hear themselves hailed as deliverers, and to be greeted with divine honours. None breathed the name of freedom; none sighed for the republic in whose name the great dictator had been stricken to the ground. The new despots planted themselves firmly in his footsteps. They supplied the exhausted ranks of the senate, as he had done before them, with foreigners, soldiers, freedmen, and even, which he had not done, with slaves. The magistracies were filled with men unworthy in character, and not legally qualified. The prætor's bench was crowded with the vociferous aspirants to official dignity: the consuls' chairs were invaded month after month by successive occupants. The triumvirs flung honours and offices among the gaping crowd of expectants with a liberal hand, and the subservient senate sanctioned all their acts, past, present, and to come.[1]

Rejoicings in Rome.

They rose from this political debauch, and girded themselves again for work. Before the end of the year (715) Octavius had betaken himself to Gaul, where the Narbonensis was troubled by some native insurrectionary movements, and Antonius had set out from Rome, to lead, as he declared, the legions of the republic

Octavius repairs to Gaul, and Antonius to the East, in the autumn of 715

[1] Dion, xlviii. 34, 35; Appian, *B. C.* v. 75.

against the Parthians. He distributed thrones in Asia at his own pleasure among the petitioners who came to beg them. He gave Pontus to a son of Pharnaces, Pisidia to Amyntas, Cilicia to Polemo, and Palestine to Herod. At the same time he issued orders for the muster and march of troops eastward. But this was the extent of his operations for the season. At Athens he rested from the fatigues of military service, and bestowed his whole time upon his new wife Octavia, as devotedly, and to all appearances as much to his own contentment, as recently to his paramour Cleopatra. Throughout the winter he amused himself with throwing off all the restraints of official dignity; and none of those about him was so much shocked perhaps as the grave matron at his side, when he dressed and feasted in the character of Bacchus, or relinquished the stern duties of a Roman imperator for the trifling occupations of the Athenian literati. But Antonius, though he scorned formal and conventional restraints, was never long enslaved by his licentious caprices. With the return of spring he returned to the business of the camp. Once more his door was thronged with officers, heralds, and orderlies; again the word of command thundered from his lips; foreign embassies, which had long danced attendance, received his stern and sententious award; decrees issued from his tribunals, ships were launched, stores were collected, and far and wide resounded the busy preparations for war.

Antonius passes the winter at Athens, 715-716.

These preparations were intended for the support of Ventidius, who in the autumn of the year preceding had conducted an expedition against the Parthians with brilliant success. Those daring enemies had seldom failed, from the day when they triumphed over Crassus, to seize the moments when the legions were withdrawn from the frontier, to ravage the plains and even the

Adventures of Q. Labienus. A.U. 714.

cities of Syria, and menace them with more permanent occupation. Cassius however had succeeded in promoting discord in the royal family of Parthia. The counsels of the invaders had been distracted by their own dissensions, and this perhaps alone had prevented them from making a serious impression upon the Roman province. But in the last civil war the line of the Euphrates had been denuded of its garrisons, and at the same moment a Roman officer had tendered his services to the foreign enemy. Quintus, the son of Titus Labienus, had escaped from the field of Munda, and after Cæsar's death had been charged by the liberators with the negotiation of an alliance with the Parthian court. Orodes had kept him in suspense while he watched the turn of affairs in Rome, and when the day of the proscriptions arrived the son of the Cæsarean renegade despaired of safety in his own country. He continued to reside in the land of his adoption, entered into the service of the Parthian monarch, and, when the affairs of the triumvirs seemed utterly embroiled, persuaded him to make a vigorous effort to possess himself of Syria. The invaders crossed the Euphrates in the year 713. Antonius, summoned in haste to the west by his brother Lucius, hesitated for a moment whether to plunge into the honourable perils of a Parthian campaign, or to confront his rival Octavius, now exulting in the capture of Perusia, in Italy. His personal interests, or the demands of his soldiers, determined him to the latter course. The invaders divided their forces: Pacorus occupied Syria as far south as the borders of Palestine; Labienus entered Asia Minor, defeated and slew Decidius Saxa, and, elated with his rapid successes, assumed the title of imperator, and by a strange solecism, the surname of Parthicus.[1] But these successes were

[1] His coins still exist, with the legend Q. Labienus Parthicus Imp., and on the reverse a horse saddled and bridled, emblematic, we may suppose, of his Parthian cavalry.

presently checked by the arrival of Ventidius with legions devoted to the interests of Antonius, and to the person of their leader his lieutenant. Labienus fled at his approach: before he could effect a junction with Pacorus he was overtaken and confined to the mountains of the Taurus, while the defenders of the empire hastened to confront the Parthians, whom they speedily defeated and drove across the frontier. Labienus was soon afterwards taken and put to death.[1]

Ventidius triumphs over the Parthians, A.U. 716.

But the strength of the Parthian monarchy was not broken by a single defeat. Pacorus returned to the attack in the ensuing spring, and measured his sword with the gallant Picenian in a second and a third battle. The last of these encounters took place, it is said, on the anniversary of the great disaster of Carrhæ, the disgrace of which was now balanced by a glorious victory, and the slaughter of the invading general. Ventidius abstained from pursuing his success on the other side of the Euphrates. His courage was more probably damped by the manifest inadequacy of his means, than by the apprehension of his commander's jealousy, to which the historians have ascribed it. There was moreover an enemy on the flank whom it was necessary to chastise. Ventidius besieged Antiochus, king of Commagene, in his city Samosata, and Antonius soon arrived there from Athens, to receive his submission in person. The mule-jobber reached the summit of a Roman's ambition; he returned to Rome and enjoyed the gratification of a triumph won *over Taurus and the Parthians.*[2] Antonius forebore to prosecute the vengeance of Rome against the humbled invaders, and returned, with no personal

[1] Liv. *Epit.* cxxvii.; Dion, xlvii. 24—26.; Appian, *B. C.* v. 65 133.; Florus, iv. 9.; Vell. ii. 78; Plutarch, *Anton.* 30, 33.

[2] Fast. Capitol. ann. DCCXV (716) P. Ventidius P. f pro Cos. ex Tauro et Parthis.

accession of renown, to the delights of the Grecian capital.

Meanwhile the treaty of Misenum had completely failed in restoring peace in the West. It is remarkable that Virgil, in the full flow of his vaticination of a golden age, had paused abruptly, and admitted that for a time some traces should yet remain of the ancient wickedness, that the sea should again be ploughed by ships, another Argo sail under the guidance of a second Tiphys, another war ensue, and an Achilles arm once more for the destruction of Troy. This sudden transition, if it does not betray a later insertion in the main texture of the poem, may indicate that the parties to the peace of Brundisium already anticipated hostilities with the only remaining power which they had not associated with them in the partition of the empire. In the treaty so lately made, the prophet may have trembled for the fate of his own predictions. But he was speedily reassured. Sextus, it seems, had refused to fulfil his stipulations, and surrender the places he held on the coast of Italy. It is probable that he pleaded in excuse the forcible detention of Achaia by Antonius, while the triumvir on his part insisted on keeping that province in pledge for the payment of some debts he claimed from it.[1] However this may have been, Octavius resented the treachery and requited it. Menodorus had carried over to him a fleet with three legions on board, delivering at the same time into his hands the strongholds of Sardinia and Corsica; and when Sextus demanded the surrender of the traitor, he availed himself of so plausible a pretext for refusing. Sextus, haughty and impetuous, flew to arms. He descended in the spring of 716 upon the defenceless cities of Campania, launched his corsairs upon the waters of the Tyrrhene sea, and cut off from Rome her expected convoys of

Octavius takes the sea against Sextus.

[1] Appian, *B. C.* v. 77.; Dion, xlviii. 45.

grain. But Octavius, with his new accession of maritime force, could hope shortly to rival Neptune's lieutenant on his own element.[1] He ordered ships to be equipped in the ports of Ostia and Ravenna, and transported legions from Illyricum into Italy, while he summoned his colleagues from Athens and Carthage to his assistance. The one obeyed the call, and repaired to Brundisium, where the conference was appointed to be held, but not finding Octavius in attendance, returned quickly to his own provinces, and followed Ventidius, as we have seen, within the Syrian frontier; the other, in pique, or from indolence, remained at home a passive spectator of events.

Naval engagements: defeat of Octavius.

On the eve of his departure from Brundisium Antonius had addressed a letter to Octavius, in which he exhorted him in strong and perhaps peremptory language to maintain the terms of the recent alliance, and even threatened to demand Menodorus for punishment, claiming over him the rights of a master, as the slave of Pompeius Magnus, whose property he had acquired.[2] But this bold assumption passed without regard. Octavius felt himself strong enough to act without the aid of either of his colleagues. He accepted the traitor's services and appointed him to a command. While one of his armaments issued from the ports of Etruria under Calvisius, another was launched at Ravenna. Octavius himself embarked at Tarentum, and joined the latter squadron as it stood across from the Sallentine promontory to the Lacinian, while his legions advanced by land to Rhegium. It was determined to make a combined and decisive attack upon the tyrant of the seas in his Sicilian stronghold. Sextus despatched Menecrates to confront

[1] Dux Neptunius. Hor. *Ep.* ix. 7.
[2] Appian, *B. C.* v. 79. Dion calls him Menas. The fourth of Horace's epodes, inscribed to one Menas, whose upstart pride is made the object of satire, has been supposed to refer to this personage.

Calvisius, while he awaited under the defences of Messana the assault of Octavius in person. Menecrates sought the foe gallantly in his own waters. The fleets met in the bay of Cumæ, and the Pompeians, superior in skill if not in numbers, gained a considerable advantage, and this was much enhanced by a storm which severely damaged the Cæsareans. But they lost their admiral, and returned discouraged to Sicily. Octavius, who lay off Rhegium and awaited the arrival of Calvisius to make a combined attack with overwhelming forces, was disconcerted by the news of this disaster. He threaded the narrow straits in quest of his shattered detachment: but Sextus pounced upon his hindmost vessels, and compelled the whole armament to take up a position along the coast, to receive his onset with their beaks off-shore. The Pompeians charged with impetuous confidence, stove in the enemy's bows or burst their moorings, and drove them on the rocks. Octavius saved himself by leaping on a reef, and called off his men from their vessels. Some of his captains refused to obey the inglorious signal, and forced their way through their assailant's line. But the work of destruction was more effectually completed by the occurrence of a violent tempest, and the remnant of the Cæsarean vessels was only saved by the supineness of the conqueror.

Sextus fails to profit by his victory

Octavius was both mortified and alarmed by this discomfiture. He had put forth all his naval resources, and they had been almost destroyed before his eyes. The pressure of scarcity was exasperating the urban populace, and their distress easily convinced them that the quarrel was unjust. The triumvir had to bear up against both the general clamour for peace and the want of money to prosecute the war. But his resolution was constant, and his fortitude never deserted him. He sent the ablest of his counsellors, Mæcenas, to

renew negotiations with Antonius. He disposed his numerous land forces at the points of the coast most open to attack. He ordered the construction of fresh vessels, and patiently collected munitions of war, while he trusted that Sextus, incapable of using his victory, would exasperate the Romans by his insolence and cruelty. The prince of the corsairs had indeed no higher conceptions than might befit the chief of a piratical flotilla. Instead of completing the destruction of the Cæsarean fleet, and leading his forces to advance boldly upon Rome, he contented himself with making desultory descents upon the coast, and marauding off the shore. His victory swelled his pride and made him ridiculous. He proclaimed himself the offspring of Neptune, arrayed himself in a sea-green mantle, and cast, so at least his foes reported, not horses only, but living men into the waves as a sacrifice to his pretended father.[1] Meanwhile the despatches received from Mæcenas assured Octavius that his unsteady colleague had promised to stand by him; and a splendid victory gained by Agrippa over the revolted Gauls in Aquitania turned once more the tide of popular opinion in his favour. Agrippa was rewarded with the promise of the consulship for the next year, and his services were immediately employed in fitting out a new fleet, and in training the forces of Octavius for the element which was destined to bring him imperishable renown.

On the upper sea Italy possessed at least two excellent harbours, those of Ravenna and Brundisium. But the whole extent of its western coast is singularly deficient in any such natural advantages,

[1] Dion, xlviii. 48. Such stories against an unpopular and vanquished chieftain must of course be received with suspicion. If they were generally credited at the time, we should expect to hear them mentioned by Velleius and Horace. Sextus inscribed the figure of Neptune on his coins, as præfectus classis of the commonwealth by appointment of the senate.

and Agrippa discerned that to dispute the command of the sea with Sextus, his leader must possess a secure and ample station for his naval armaments opposite the coast of Sicily. He cast his eyes on the small land-locked pools, the Avernus and the Lucrinus, which lay on the Campanian coast, between Misenum and Puteoli. The former, which was the innermost of these basins, was separated from the other by a neck of land about one mile in width; while the waters of the outer lake were only sheltered from the sea by a narrow ridge or belt of sand or shingle, which, according to one of the marvellous traditions rife in this locality, had been formed by Hercules to spare himself the long circuit of the bay. But the sea sometimes made breaches in this bar, and Julius Cæsar, if we may trust to one obscure notice of antiquity, had repaired it artificially, to secure the fish preserves within it from the turbulence of the waves.[1] The work which Agrippa undertook was apparently to unite the two lakes by a canal, to face the exterior mound with masonry, and to pierce it also with a channel for the admission of vessels. To the double haven thus constructed, and defended by this massive breakwater, in honour of his patron's house he gave the name of the Julian; misled by which designation later writers sometimes ascribed the operation to Octavius, sometimes to the dictator himself. Nor indeed was the work itself destined to endure. At a later period Octavius constructed a harbour nearer to the seat of government, at the mouth of the Tiber, and from thenceforth the Julian haven seems to have been relinquished as a naval station, its entrance rapidly

Agrippa constructs the Julian haven.

[1] See Servius on Virgil's lines (*Georg.* ii. 161.),

"Lucrinoque addita claustra,
Julia qua ponto longe sonat unda refuso,
Tyrrhenusque fretis immittitur æstus Avernis."

filled up, and in the lapse of half a century it became practicable only for small vessels.[1]

The triumvirate renewed for a second period of five years.

This noble construction, with many other kindred preparations, was the work of the year 717. During their progress the hopes of Octavius were reassured, and he even deemed he could dispense with the aid of Antonius, to which he would only betake himself in the last resort. But the triumvir of the East, jealous, perhaps, of the vigour of his colleague's proceedings, proposed to fulfil his engagement. He quitted Athens, whither he had returned from the Parthian frontier, and where he had devoted the winter to careless festivities, and suddenly appeared off Brundisium with a fleet of three hundred sail. Octavius ventured to forbid his landing. Antonius, it seems, was staggered by this act of defiance and submitted to the insult, while he employed the services of his wife to mediate between them. The negotiation which ensued, resulted in an amicable arrangement, designated as the treaty of Tarentum. Antonius furnished his brother-in-law with a hundred and thirty ships for the war against Sextus, and received in return a force of twenty thousand legionaries for the Parthian expedition upon which he was about to embark. This treaty they confirmed by renewing between themselves the terms of the triumvirate, which they extended to a second period of five years, the original compact having in fact recently expired.[2]

[1] Frandsen in his *Life of Agrippa* (p. 140. foll.) has examined this subject carefully, and succeeded at least in showing the difficulty of explaining it. The passages relating to it are Dion, xlviii. 49, 50.; Suet. *Oct.* 16.; Strabo, v. 4.; Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 15.; and Virgil, *l. c.* with the comments of Philargyrius and Servius. On the one hand the lakes are said to have been opened to the sea, on the other, to have been closed against it. The account in the text may possibly reconcile these seemingly contradictory statements. Vast changes have been made in the features of the locality by volcanic action.

[2] The first term expired December 31, 716. There is some discrepancy between Dion and Appian, regarding the date of this treaty

Antonius left his wife behind him in her brother's care, as a pledge of amity; but this separation proved, as could hardly fail to be foreseen, the cause of a final and fatal dissension.

Octavius reinforced by Antonius, attacks Sextus again. He is discomfited by a storm.

Thus seasonably reinforced in the arm in which he had felt his weakness, Octavius still continued to amass munitions of war, and was not fully prepared to assume the offensive before the summer of the year 718. Lepidus was once more summoned from Africa, and this time he did not venture to withhold his assistance. The general command of the whole naval force was entrusted to Agrippa, under whose direction the fleet was lustrated with religious ceremonies, and the first of the Julian month was selected as an auspicious day for putting to sea.[1] Octavius sailed himself from the Julian haven, Statilius Taurus from Tarentum, Lepidus from Carthage, and the three squadrons were directed to attack simultaneously the three coasts of the triangular island. But Octavius was still pursued by the evil fortune which seemed ever to attend him at sea. A violent storm dispersed his squadron and drove him on shore at Velia. Taurus, as soon as the news of this disaster reached him, returned ingloriously to Tarentum; Lepidus alone, not aware, we may suppose, of this double desertion, reached the point of his destination, besieged Lilybæum, and reduced several towns on the coast of inferior note. Octavius, fearing the clamours of the Roman populace, hastily repaired his shattered vessels, and ventured to resume operations in August. Even this

which took place either in the spring of 717 (Appian), or early in the ensuing winter (Dion). In either case some interval must have elapsed between the expiration of the first term and its renewal, either three months or twelve. The year 717 passed without active operations in any quarter. Dion, xlviii. 54.; Appian, *B. C.* v. 93–95. Comp. Fischer, *Röm. Zeit.* 352.; Hoeck, *Röm. Gesch.* i. 1. 262.; Drumann, i. 448.

[1] Appian, *B. C.* v. 96.

short interval might have been turned to advantage by an adversary more active or more politic than Sextus; but once more this unworthy son of the great Pompeius suffered the opportunity to slip, and had merely provided for the defence of some of his landing-places, when the enemy's fleet appeared again off the coast of Sicily. But the corsairs of the Mediterranean were doubtless capricious allies, and possibly he was unable to trust his own officers. Menodorus, who had deserted him at a critical moment, returned to his standard, and obtained once more the command of a small squadron. He was despatched with seven vessels to cruise against the enemy; but he betrayed his trust a second time, and threw himself again into the arms of Octavius.

Agrippa gains a victory over a Pompeian squadron.

The triumvir, not discouraged by his repeated reverses at sea, had taken the command of a new armament for the invasion of Sicily, and brought it to anchor on the strand of Strongyle, one of the Æolian islands. But when Sextus collected his numerous galleys to repel the attack, Octavius acknowledged his own genius or fortune to be unequal to the contest, and while he repaired himself to the station of Taurus at Tarentum, he summoned Agrippa to assume his place in front of the enemy. The operations of the new admiral were crowned with partial success. He defeated a division of the Pompeians off Mylæ, and captured some places on the coast, but made no effective impression on the strength of his adversary. Octavius meanwhile had transported three legions from Tarentum to Leucopetra, and thence, supposing Sextus to be fully occupied by his lieutenant, he had crossed the straits and encamped before Tauromenium. Sextus however, apprised of this movement, steered directly for the place, and ordered a body of horse to accompany his progress by land, while the bulk of his military forces was rapidly concentrated on the

same spot. Thus placed between two dangers, Octavius preferred apparently to expose himself to that which at least admitted of escape in case of disaster. He transferred to Cornificius the command of the small corps he had landed on the coast, and betook himself to the fleet. The squadrons twice engaged, and the result of the obstinate combat was the utter destruction of the Cæsarean. A small number of galleys alone escaped, and once more Octavius was among the fugitives. Received on the shore of Italy by the well-appointed army which Messala there commanded for him, he speedily resumed the tone of authority. He hastened to assure Agrippa of his personal safety, and urged him to strain every nerve for the relief of Cornificius. The Roman populace, which watched every turn of the contest with anxiety for its daily sustenance, clamoured more and more loudly against the ill-success and obstinacy of its master. Mæcenas was charged with the delicate task of calming its apprehensions and amusing it into good humour.

Octavius is again defeated.

Cornificius, who had no means of escape but by traversing the island, and reaching Agrippa's cantonments on the northern coast, was encumbered by the wounded and helpless fugitives who had crept from the disabled galleys. As long, however, as his precipitate march was harassed only by the light battalions which hung upon his flank and rear, he continued to make progress, though with excessive difficulty and under severe privations; but Sextus shortly closed upon him with troops better appointed, and he was only saved from destruction by the timely arrival of three legions forwarded by Agrippa to his rescue. With this succour he made good his retreat to Mylæ, which was in the hands of the Cæsareans. The spirit he had manifested, and his resolution in carrying along with him the wounded fugitives, gained him credit both with his

Gallant retreat of Cornificius.

chief and his countrymen. In the following year his services were rewarded with the consulship; and he retained through life the singular and perhaps inconvenient privilege, when he supped abroad, of riding home by torchlight on the back of an elephant.[1] Meanwhile Octavius had embarked the mass of his forces in the Bruttian or Lucanian ports, and a base for his operations being secured by the possession of Mylæ and Tyndaris, and the fertile district they commanded, he assembled there an army of no less than twenty-one legions and twenty thousand cavalry. Lepidus, at the same time, was bringing up his contingent, and Taurus was menacing with his fleet the southern ports and landing-places of the island. Sextus found himself blockaded within the north-eastern peninsula of his little realm, where it was impossible long to maintain his numerous forces. The contending armies confronted each other on the coast hard by the town of Naulochus, while the fleets fought in the offing. Three hundred sail were arrayed on either side, to decide the dominion of the seas. The Octavian galleys, commanded by Agrippa, were larger and stronger built than their adversaries'[2]: but they owed their superiority still more to the grappling-irons with which their admiral had provided them, and which brought the contest to a speedy termination. Dismayed at the rapid capture or destruction of his vessels, Sextus gave the signal for retreat into the difficult channel of the Messanian straits; but his movement was intercepted by the skill of the enemy,

General engagement of the fleets off the coast of Sicily. Complete defeat of the Pompeians.

[1] Dion, xlix. 7. Florus (ii. 2. 10.) commemorates the distinctions accorded to Duilius after his victory over the Carthaginians in the first Punic war: "Per vitam omnem ubi a cœna rediret prælucere funalia, præcinere sibi tibias jussit, quasi quotidie triumpharet." The honour of riding the elephant became restricted to the emperors Juvenal (xii. 106.) calls these animals

"Cæsaris armentum nulli servire paratum
Privato."

[2] Dion, xlix. 3.; Appian, *B. C.* v. 106.

and the greater part of his armament cut off, driven on shore and burnt. He reached his haven with no more than seventeen galleys. Agrippa's victory by sea was complete, and it was followed by a success no less triumphant on land; for the Pompeian legions, left in the heat and panic of the contest without orders, surrendered without a blow. Sextus threw aside his imperatorial garb, collected his treasures and costliest effects, and abandoned the island for the East, where he still hoped to secure an asylum from the favour or policy of Antonius.[1]

Sextus escapes into the East.

Even yet the cause of the Pompeians in Sicily was not really desperate, and an extraordinary turn of fortune seemed for a moment to restore them to the ascendant. Plennius, the officer to whom Sextus had confided the defence of Lilybæum, and whom he had recalled in haste from the western extremity of the island for the defence of Messana, entered the Pompeian stronghold after his chief had so precipitately abandoned it. He had eight legions, and with this force he undertook to defend a place well-fortified and strongly situated. Agrippa and Lepidus combined their forces to reduce him; but Plennius intrigued with the triumvir, and agreed to surrender the city, on condition that the plunder should be divided between his legions and the army of Africa. Agrippa protested against this nefarious compact; nevertheless it was carried through, and the luckless Messanians were subjected to the savage excesses of the two armies throughout the night. The Pompeian soldiers saluted Lepidus as their imperator; and he, puffed up with this sudden fortune, seeing himself at the head of twenty legions, determined to claim the undivided empire. Orders were despatched to the fortresses of the island to keep their gates closed against the Cæsareans. Octavius hastened to meet the danger.

Lepidus combines with the remnant of the Pompeians, and makes head against Octavius.

[1] Dion, xlix. 11.; Appian, B. C. v. 122.

He led his troops to the walls of Messana. Lepidus had already withdrawn to an entrenched camp close at hand. Another act of the long drama of the civil wars seemed on the point of commencing; but Lepidus, without a party cry of any kind to inscribe on his banners, and himself little known or respected among the soldiery, proved unable to secure the fidelity of his own legions. The sack of Messana had revolted the feelings even of the brigands to whom it had been surrendered. Remorse for their own crime easily blended with disgust at the chieftain who had debauched them. They were in the mood to accept with enthusiasm an appeal to their generosity. Octavius with ready boldness threw himself, almost unattended, into the midst of them, and besought them in their own camp to renounce the horrid design of civil war to which their leader was exciting them.[1] Lepidus called to arms. Octavius withdrew unharmed in person, though his cloak was pierced by a javelin.

He is deserted by his soldiers, and taken.

He seized, it is said, an eagle with his own hand, and was speedily followed by whole cohorts and legions, which deserted from his adversary. Lepidus quickly found his position no longer tenable. To descend from the vauntings of defiance to the whine of supplication was easy and natural to his paltry spirit. He doffed his purple mantle, and threw himself at his colleague's feet, hardly observed, among the crowd of courtiers, who now thronged around the victor. He suffered no

His life spared in contempt.

other punishment but deprivation of his share in the triumvirate, and the government of the empire; nor was he grudged the empty honour of the chief priesthood, a dignity inalienable with life.[2]

[1] Appian, *B. C.* v. 124, 125.; Vell. ii. 80.: "Inermis et lacernatus præter nomen nihil trahens . . . . non ab Scipionibus aliisque veteribus Rom. ducum quicquam ausum patratumque fortius."

[2] Appian, *B. C.* v. 131.; Liv. *Epit.* cxxix. Lepidus was confined to Circeii, according to Suetonius (*Oct.* 16.), and strictly watched. At a later period he was summoned to Rome, not cut

Undoubtedly Lepidus had owed his great public distinctions more to his high rank and family influence than to any abilities he had displayed even in his earlier and more active years. Yet it would be unreasonable to judge of him entirely from the effect which ease and flattery produced upon a temper naturally indolent. Cæsar, who had placed him only one step below himself, might have respected or feared him; and it is possible that Octavius spared his life from policy rather than contempt.

Subsequent career of Sextus.

The subsequent fortunes of the prince of the pirates have little interest or importance, and may be briefly told in this place. In his flight he landed for a moment on the coast of Bruttium, and rifled the temple of Juno on the Lacinian promontory. From thence he steered for Lesbos, the asylum where he had been placed with Cornelia during the fatal campaign of Pharsalia, and where his illustrious name was still held in affection.[1] Antonius was at this time engaged in his distant expedition against the Parthians, and Sextus proposed to surrender to him on his return. But in the meantime a rumour spread that the triumvir had suffered disaster, and new schemes of ambition began to ferment in the restless wanderer's head. Antonius however returned in safety to Alexandria. His power was not broken; his supremacy throughout the Roman provinces in the East was undiminished. Nevertheless Sextus would not abandon his new hopes: he began to intrigue with various parties simultaneously,

of favour, says Dion (liv. 5.), but to make his humiliation more conspicuous.

[1] Cornelia had endeared herself to the Lesbians during her retreat among them. Lucan, viii. 155.:

"Tanto devinxit amore
Hos pudor, hos probitas, castique modestia vultus;
Quod submissa nimis, nulli gravis hospita turbæ,
Stantis adhuc fati vixit quasi conjuge victo."

I would willingly believe that these pretty verses commemorate a genuine tradition.

with the Roman commander, with the Parthians, and with the turbulent chieftains of Pontus and Armenia. Antonius listened to his representations of the dangerous ascendancy his rival had acquired in the West; but the discovery of the suppliant's treachery convinced him that from such an ally no faithful services could be expected. Sextus meanwhile advanced into Asia, amused the triumvir's lieutenants with great dexterity, and obtained possession of some places of strength by stratagem. His followers gradually swelled to the respectable dimensions of an army of three legions. Some chiefs of the old aristocratic party still clung to him; among them were Cassius Parmensis, one of the tyrannicides, Thermus, Antistius, Fannius, and his father-in-law Libo. But when, wearied and despondent with so many years of reverses, they divined their leader's headstrong determination to defy the triumvir's power in the field, they finally abandoned his desperate cause. Sextus, now hemmed in by the lieutenants of Antonius, still refused to capitulate, and tried every device to elude his pursuers. Deserted at last by every follower, he fell into the hands of an officer named Titius, who caused him in a short time to be put to death. It is uncertain whether the order for his destruction was really given by Antonius, who was capable of an act of generosity, and in whom it might have been politic to reserve so important a personage to play off against Octavius. Some attributed it to Plancus, who now commanded under Antonius in Syria, and who feared, it is said, the influence the captive might exercise in exasperating the dissensions between the triumvirs.[1] Sextus perished in his fortieth year. He was the last de-

He is taken by the Antonians and put to death.

[1] These last exploits of Sextus are told at length by Appian, *B. C.* v. 133—144., and conclude the existing portion of his work on the civil wars of Rome. Sextus was killed in the year 719. Comp. Dion, xlix. 18.; Liv. *Epit.* cxxxi.

scendant in the male line of the great Pompeius.[1] His eventful story gives ample evidence of the distracted state of the doomed republic, in which so long a struggle could be maintained by a roving bucçaneer against the great public interest of the Roman world.

The last of the Pompeii died unhonoured and unlamented. He had cut himself adrift from the parties of the senate and the forum, and the remnant of the father's faction disdained to flatter the memory of a degenerate son. Nevertheless the recollection of the fearful tragedy of his race, which closed with his final overthrow, made a deep impression upon his countrymen's imagination. The spirits of the dead, they believed, were reanimated to warn these heroes of the republic of the incredible reverse impending over them. A wild story is told of a certain Gabienus, an officer in the Octavian fleet, who was taken in the sea-fight off Tauromenium and his throat cut by command of Sextus. He lay with his head almost severed from his body throughout the day. As the shades of evening fell, the dead man was heard to moan. A crowd collected around him. He spoke, and declared that he had returned from the abodes of the departed to announce to the young Pompeius that his pious enterprise was there known and approved.[2] Here is the apparent foundation of the curious episode in Lucan's poem, in which Sextus is made to consult a Thessalian sorceress regarding the event of the civil wars. Erictho raises a dead man to life, who proclaims the anxiety prevailing among the ghosts of the Roman heroes at the expected issue of the contest. The traitors and conspirators, a Marius and a Catiline, had burst their chains with frantic exultation: the champions of the

Traditions connected with the fall of the Pompeii

[1] A Cnæus Pompeius, whom Caligula forbade to assume the appellation of Magnus, may have been a descendant of the triumvir through Pompeia, the daughter of Sextus. Suet. *Calig.* 35., *Claud.* 27, 29.; Dion, lx. 21, 29

[2] Plin. *H. N.* vii. 53.

republic, a Camillus and a Sulla, were downcast and dismayed. Of all the pious shades, Brutus alone rejoiced, in the prospect of his offspring's exploit. Such is the extent of the dead man's revelation. *After all it is no more than a contest for a grave; one rival shall lie by the waters of the Nile, the other by those of the Tiber. Let not Sextus inquire about his own fate; his sire Pompeius shall announce it to him on the Sicilian shore.* The poet is here supposed to intimate his intention of introducing at the close of his epic a vaticination on the fortunes of Rome by the mouth of her favourite hero. He had heard, we may presume, the story which has been just related, and sought to give it poetical dignity by transferring the subject from the obscure Gabienus to the great Pompeius himself. It should be remarked that the consultation with the sorceress is represented as something impious and cowardly, and there is peculiar fitness in assigning it to a personage on whom all Roman history conspired to cast a slur.[1]

Octavius at the head of the Cæsarean or Marian interest.

We have seen the great Cæsarean, or if we may still so denominate it, the Marian party divided in its affections between three rival chieftains, each of whom might claim to be the true representative of the common cause. If Octavius could vaunt himself as the dictator's legitimate heir, Antonius had been his friend, his minister, and had first proclaimed himself his avenger. Lepidus might assert claims of still earlier date; for it was by his father that the first abortive attempt had been made to overthrow the Sullan ascendancy. But one of the aspirants had now retired from the stage, another self-expatriated, and falling rapidly into the tastes and habits of the despised Orientals, had

[1] Lucan, vi. 589.:

"Pompeii ignava propago."

There is also a marked similarity between the vaticination in Lucan, vi. 785. seq., and Libo's invective against Pompeius quoted by Valerius Maximus, vi. 2, 8., pointing, I think, to a common tradition.

already forfeited to a great extent the respect of his countrymen, and whatever interest still attached to him regarded his personal fortunes rather than those of his party. The hopes of the old senatorial faction were finally extinguished; death, disappointment, and confiscation had broken up its resources; the scattered remnant made their way one by one to Rome, and there subsided almost unnoticed into the conservative element of the state, prepared to support whatever government existed. The lists of proscription were allowed to fall into oblivion, and many of those who had escaped the first inquisition re-appeared by degrees in the forum and senate-house, and found no obstacle opposed even to their obtaining public distinctions. The Roman people seemed tacitly to acknowledge that it had now but one cause to maintain, the cause of order and law, and of this cause Octavius was universally recognised as the visible impersonation. This idea he now set himself earnestly to confirm in the public mind; to this point his mildness and his severity equally tended. He spared Lepidus, out of respect, perhaps, for the noble images which crowded his ancestral halls; he enlisted in his own legions all the citizens whom he had taken in arms against himself: on the other hand his restoring to their masters for legitimate punishment the slaves who had dared to combat side by side with free men, was an act of not less popular severity; and even his condemning to the cross the miserable wretches whose masters could not be found, was doubtless applauded as a just tribute to the spirit of law and discipline.[1] The proud position which he

Extinction of the senatorial faction.

Octavius popular both in his clemency and his severity.

[1] Dion, xlix. 12. Comp. Monum. Ancyr. v. 2., and Oros. vi. 18. Sextus had freely availed himself of the services of fugitive slaves. Vel. ii. 73.; Horat. *Epod.* 9. 9.:

"Servis amicus perfidis."

Lucan, i. 43.:

"Servilia bella sub Ætna."

thus acquired was maintained by the enormous array of forty-five legions, twenty-five thousand cavalry, and thirty-seven thousand light-armed auxiliaries. The commander of such a force had only one enemy to fear, disaffection within the camp. Though in battle Octavius had repeatedly sustained reverses, he showed himself to possess the art of managing a mutinous soldiery. The appeal which Cæsar had made with such confidence to the military spirit of his legionaries might have failed with the horde of butchers and brigands who now marched under the Roman eagles. But Octavius subdued them by dividing their interests. Some, who claimed release from service, he disbanded with gratuities, others he contented or stimulated with promises, while he gorged with the tribute imposed upon Sicily those whose arms were the most indispensable, or appetite most insatiable. Having thus succeeded in quelling the disaffection which was rife among his motley ranks, he dismissed the vessels, as many as remained, which he had borrowed of Antonius, established his authority over the island, and committed the African provinces to Statilius Taurus. He then hastened back, with a portion of his troops, to the expectant citizens of Rome. The senate was on the alert to receive the conqueror with every honour which fear or flattery or genuine admiration could suggest. Octavius, now in his twenty-eighth year, found himself regarded as the sole defender, or master, it may be, of the commonwealth. Besides an ovation for his Sicilian victory, it was decreed that the anniversaries of his successes should be solemnly

Distinctions heaped upon him at Rome.

The cruelty of this wholesale massacre is the more horrible from the fact of their freedom having been assured to the enlisted slaves on the first hollow reconciliation between the contending parties. For the details of the artifice by which they were seized and disarmed, see Appian, *B. C.* v. 131. It is remarkable that Octavius had enlisted in his own fleet not less than 20,000 slaves. Suet. *Oct.* 16.; Dion, xlviii. 49. But these, it seems, had been manumitted by legitimate authority.

observed, and that a rostral column erected in the forum should bear on its summit his effigy in gold, and commemorate by an inscription the restoration of peace by land and sea. His approach to Rome was greeted by a festive procession of the senate and citizens to meet him. In strict observance of the law, which had seemed to be torn to atoms by repeated violations, he convened the people outside the pomœrium, and addressed them in a studied oration. He detailed the whole conduct of his triumvirate, excused the bloodshed of the proscriptions by the plea of necessity, promised peace and tranquillity for the future, and pledged himself that the civil wars had reached their final termination. The favour which this magnificent announcement challenged, was assured by a remission of public dues and taxes. On the thirteenth of November, 718, these gracious words and actions were crowned by the popular ceremony of the ovation.[1] The sea was open, and stores of grain floated securely into the granaries of the city. The gratitude of the half-famished multitude was not yet satisfied. They voted their deliverer a public residence on the Palatine hill, and would have snatched the pontificate from Lepidus, and conferred it upon him. But this harsh and illegitimate proceeding he declined to sanction, and Rome beheld with astonishment an act of moderation so much in contrast with the grasping ambition of the great dictator.

Octavius restores order in Rome, and promises to resign the triumvirate.

The whole course of the youthful conqueror's proceedings indicated a disposition to leave the Romans as much liberty as they could now exercise with advantage to themselves together with the appearance at least of something more. A veil was thrown over the glaring

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 22.; Appian, *B. C.* v. 130. The Fasti Capitolini record this as his second ovation: "Imp. Cæsar Divi f. C. n. ii. iii. vir R. P. C. ii. ovans ex Sicilia an. DCCXVII. (718) Idibus Novemb." His former ovation had been for the victory of Philippi.

irregularities in the appointment of the higher magistracies, which had gone on increasing since Cæsar's first arbitrary infringements of the established rules. It has been noticed that in the year 710 there were sixteen prætors appointed, being double the legitimate number: but in 716 not less than sixty-seven were enumerated, a great proportion of whom held the office only for a few days.[1] The recent custom of intruding several persons successively into the consulship of the same year had been retained and aggravated. The public ceased to inquire even the names of their transient rulers, and contented themselves with branding with the contemptuous title of lesser consuls all but the two from whom the fasti of the year were designated. The motive for seeking the evanescent honour of a few days or even hours was not the emolument or perhaps the dignity of the office itself, but arose from its being a necessary step to attaining the highest employment in the provinces. On the other hand some poorer or meaner candidates, disgusted at the charges of their office, dishonourably abandoned their posts. In one instance a boy was made quæstor, and assumed the gown of manhood the day after. One man appointed to a place in the senate, desired to descend into the arena as a gladiator, a degradation which it was deemed necessary to prohibit by special enactment. But a new era of regular and legitimate succession was now announced; the reign of anarchy was to be consigned to oblivion; all the letters and documents implicating his adversaries which had come into the conqueror's hands he professed to commit to the flames, as a pledge that he would abstain from vengeance. While he still retained for the present the title of triumvir, he withdrew some restrictions which the charge imposed upon the free exercise of the higher magistracies;

[1] Dion, xlviii. 43, 53. Comp. 34, 35.

and he declared his intention of resigning the title itself as soon as Antonius, on his return from Parthia, should consent to join in the voluntary surrender.[1] In gratitude for these concessions the people invested their champion with the inviolability which belonged to the tribunitian office, and with a seat upon the tribune's bench in the public assemblies.[2] Amidst these mutual forms and compliments the triumvir of the East was little heeded. If a name which had but lately exercised such powerful influence upon the Roman people was at all remembered, it was with an anxious foreboding of the disastrous effects of any fresh collision between him and his rival, which should throw the republic under the feet of an Oriental conqueror. The rumours which reached the city of his having submitted once more to the charms of the Egyptian enchantress, and the spectacle of the injured dignity of Octavia, their favourite sister, straitened the bonds of love and confidence between the people and their accepted chief. Vigorous measures were adopted to repress the brigandage which prevailed throughout Italy and Sicily. Rome itself was now patrolled for the first time by a nocturnal police, an institution which was found too salutary to be abandoned. Even the worship of the saviour of the commonwealth began to insinuate itself into many Italian or provincial towns, where he found a place among the local tutelary divinities.[3]

M. Vipsanius Agrippa.

We have signalized the brilliant success of the new master of the Roman people both in war and peace. It remains to present to our eyes the portraits of the two distinguished statesmen, to whose practical ability his genius was mainly in-

[1] Appian, *B. C.* v. 132.
[2] Dion, xlix. 15.; Appian, *l. c.* This writer anticipates here the investment of Octavius with the *tribunitia potestas*, which we shall see belongs to a later period.
[3] Appian, *l. c.*

debted for its triumphs both in the one and the other. The name of Agrippa has already been inscribed on these pages, and his services to his patron's cause commemorated in their proper place. He was born in the same year as Octavius, memorable for Cicero's consulship, and though of mean extraction, in so much that he seems to have dropped altogether the *nomen* of the obscure Vipsanian gens, to which he belonged, and to have wished to descend to posterity as Marcus Agrippa only[1], he was admitted in early youth to the intimacy of his more illustrious contemporary, and educated together with him, in arts and arms, at Apollonia. The fortunes of the young men, thus closely connected at the outset, were destined never to be far sundered. At the moment when the relatives of Octavius advised him to decline the perilous honours thrust upon him by Cæsar's will, it was from his friend that he received the spirited counsel to claim and hazard all. History has presented to us many examples of youthful daring, such as that of Octavius himself; few perhaps of two friends and companions of the same tender age striking together into the path of glory and danger.[2] The character of Agrippa was eminently bold and decided. With him, says Velleius, words and deeds were never separated. If he had less of the far and wide-seeing sagacity which distinguished the friend and patron, he had perhaps more of his practical intuition which seizes upon the right expedient at the right moment. His courage and skill in war were eminently conspicuous. It might have

[1] M. Seneca, *Controv.* ii. 12. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 3.; Vell. ii. 96, 127., and see the story told by Suetonius, *Tib.* 23. Frandsen, in his *Life of Agrippa*, decides that Vipsanius is the right orthography, though the name of such a gens does not occur elsewhere, and not Vipsanus, as some modern editors of Tacitus prefer to read it, on the authority of a variation in the MSS.

[2] The early career of Henry of Navarre and his future minister Sully has been noticed as a parallel instance.

caused many a pang to a more generous temper than that of Octavius to contrast his friend's unvarying success and well-merited fame as a soldier, with his own singular series of mishaps, and the discredit which could not fail to attach even to his personal prowess. At Philippi, and on two occasions off the Sicilian coast, Octavius became exposed to the sneers of his detractors. *He could not face his enemy's array with a composed countenance,* blurted forth Antonius; *he prostrated himself on the deck, and stupidly stared on the heavens, nor did he rise and show himself to his own soldiers till Marcus Agrippa had scattered his foes before him.*[1] The weakness of his health gave perhaps the first ground for such rude sarcasms; that he was awakened from a deep sleep for his great combat with Sextus is in fact an incident which has been deemed illustrious in the career of a consummate general of modern times[2]; nor does there seem any just reason for imputing any paltry timidity to Octavius, who at a later period could show the scars of more than one honourable wound.[3] But whatever uneasiness he may have felt at Agrippa's superior renown in arms, he controlled any feeling of jealousy. He freely required, and received not less freely, his friend's services, either at his own side or at a distance. To Agrippa he entrusted the conduct of the indictment against Cassius the tyrannicide; in the first heat of the proscriptions, he pardoned Murcus in deference to his instances. He availed himself of his military skill in the siege of Perusia, and after the pacification effected at Brundisium, despatched him to govern the further province of Gaul, where he crossed the Rhine, the second of the Romans, chastised the Germans, and quelled the

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 16.
[2] "Like Condè sleeping ere his first of fields."
[3] Suet. *Oct.* 20.

rising insubordination of the lately conquered provincials.[1] The offer of a triumph he declined; nor does it appear from what motive: the suggestion is obvious, but hardly satisfactory, that he sought to avoid the risk of giving umbrage to his patron. When Octavius returned to Rome after the reduction of Sicily, Agrippa enjoyed a large share in the distinctions which awaited him. He was presented with a naval crown in honour of his great victory.[2] This decoration was a band of gold, ornamented with spikes in the form of the rostra or beaks of the Roman galleys. Illustrious as Agrippa was in peace and in war, on land and at sea, the rostral crown represented on busts and medals, and immortalized by the muse of Virgil[3], has rendered him most famous in history as a naval commander.

Agrippa continued to assist his patron at the council-board, and to his sagacity undoubtedly much of the spirit is to be ascribed which animated the long administration upon which Octavius now entered. But there was yet another partner to whom the triumvir was wont to entrust a large share in the cares of government, and who has generally been considered not less the first of his ministers than Agrippa was the foremost of his officers. Caius Cilnius Mæcenas, unlike his gallant coadjutor, was sprung from ancient and illustrious parentage on either side.[4] The names both of Cilnius

C. Cilnius Mæcenas.

[1] Dion, xlviii. 49.; Appian, *B. C.* v. 92. Comp. Strabo, iv. 3.; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 27.

[2] Plin. *H. N.* xvi. 4.: "Rostratæ . . . in duobus maxime ad hoc ævi celebres; M. Varro e piraticis bellis dante Magno Pompeio; itemque M. Agrippa tribuente Cæsare e Siculis, quæ et ipsa piratica fuere."

[3] Virg. *Æn.* viii. 684.:

"Tempora navali fulgent rostrata corona."

[4] Horat. *Sat.* I. vi. *init.*:

"Non quia, Mæcenas, Lydorum quicquid Etruscos
Incoluit fines, nemo generosior est te;
Nec quod avus tibi maternus fuit atque paternus,
Olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarint."

and Mæcenas appear on many Etruscan cinerary urns, but never, it is said, in connection with each other; from which it may be inferred that the two families were not united until a late period. Of the Mæcenates indeed we have no certain trace in history[1]; but the Cilnii are commemorated as the royal house of Arretium. Their pride and power were fostered by the command of the Etruscan armies, and their tyranny at last provoked their subjects to overthrow them.[2] Whether in consequence of this civic revolution, or the more sweeping disasters of the Roman conquest, the Cilnii sank from this time into comparative insignificance. Octavius selected his friend and minister from the equestrian order, nor in the height of his favour and power did the wary statesman covet any more brilliant advancement. It seems to have been fortunate for Octavius that he was compelled at the very outset of his public career to select his own advisers. No man, perhaps, so highly connected and so inexperienced, was ever thrown so entirely upon his own resources from the moment that he determined to choose the perilous path of political distinction. His own relations were vexed at his rejecting their first timid counsels: their names no longer appear among the partners of his deliberations. The origin of his connection with Mæcenas is not known. That statesman was probably his senior, at least by some years, and it is not likely that he was associated with him, as with Agrippa, in the schools of Apollonia. Nor can it be asserted that Mæcenas actually drew the sword in his

These "legions" must have been foreign, *i.e.* Etruscan armies, for we hear of no Cilnius or Mæcenas among the consuls or higher magistrates of Rome.

[1] Cicero (*pro Cluent.* 56.) mentions a C. Mæcenas, a knight, who with other "robora populi Romani" put down M. Drusus the tribune, A.U. 663. This may have been the grandfather of the statesman.

[2] Liv. x. 3. 5.

patron's cause, at Mutina, at Philippi, at Perusia, or in any of his later engagements. But the minister's advice was so essential to the warrior's exploits, the sagacious care of Mæcenas seemed so closely interwoven with the fortunes of Octavius, that his panegyrists professed themselves unable to separate the one from the other in celebrating even the military achievements of the triumvir.[1] The occasions however on which Mæcenas is first mentioned are those in which the skill of a negotiator or an able administrator were most urgently required. The treaty of Brundisium, in which the jealousies of Octavius and Antonius were to be assuaged, the division of the Roman world to be arranged, and its terms to be consolidated by the specious expedient of family intermarriages, was the work of Mæcenas, with the assistance at least of Pollio and Cocceius. During the doubtful progress of the Sicilian war the centre of Octavius's power was repeatedly shaken by disturbances at Rome. Twice was Mæcenas deputed to appease the disaffection and to supply the pressing wants of the people. For this delicate task his temper and talents were so admirably adapted, that at a later period his master retained him permanently at the head of the civil administration of Rome and Italy, and left him, during his own frequent absences from the centre of affairs, the virtual sovereign of the empire. Mæcenas seems to have possessed a genuine taste for the polite arts, and to have enjoyed the society of men of letters,

[1] The lines of Propertius (II. i. 27, sqq.) show this very strikingly. On reading them we could hardly persuade ourselves that Mæcenas was not personally engaged in all the great events of Octavius's military career, did we not know for certain that he was not present at the battle of Actium. It has been recently contended, however, with great appearance of probability, that the first Epode of Horace (Ibis Liburnis, &c.) is addressed to Mæcenas on his joining his patron's expedition to Sicily. Appian (v. 99.) speaks of the Liburnian galleys which were lost in that disastrous engagement. This epode, as is well known, has been generally referred to the battle of Actium.

even before he could perceive how important an instrument literature might be made for reconciling the public mind to the loss of liberty. His connection with Virgil dates from the year 714, and was prior to that with Horace, to whom indeed the elder poet is supposed to have introduced him. He was instrumental in restoring to both their forfeited estates, and recommending them to the favour of Octavius. Varius, who was senior to either of the great masters of Roman song, may have already enjoyed his intimacy at a still earlier period.

M. Valerius Messala.

The government of the western triumvir was supported by many other personages of high character and ability; and already the ascendancy of his genius was marked by the transition to his service from that of his rival of the men of greatest political discernment. Messala had thrown himself, after the battle of Philippi, upon the generosity of Antonius, from whom he had experienced honourable treatment; but he foresaw that the reckless career of Cleopatra's lover must end in disaster, and when the triumvirs quarrelled he speedily transferred himself to that which he already augured would be the winning side. He was entrusted in return with a high command in the war against Sextus, and no sooner was that contest brought to a termination, than he was despatched to chastise the Salassians, a turbulent tribe which infested the passes of the Graian and Pennine Alps. He had been proscribed by the man who now heaped these distinctions upon him, and the favour with which he was treated might re-assure less distinguished objects of the triumvir's former animosity. Pollio had also abandoned the service of Antonius, and sought permission to reside in Italy under his rival's protection. He there devoted himself to studious indolence, and showed by his example how literature might continue to flourish under monarchical patronage.

Octavius's matrimonial alliances.

Nor, while he availed himself of the arms and counsels of the best men of the day, had the crafty aspirant neglected to strengthen his position at the most important epochs by matrimonial alliances. In his early youth Cæsar had betrothed him to the daughter of his friend Servilius; but this arrangement was broken off when, upon the dictator's death, the young heir found himself too much embarrassed and pre-occupied to decide upon so important a step. His first union was contracted, in obedience to the demands of the soldiery, with Clodia, the daughter of Fulvia by her first husband the infamous tribune. It was thus that the first treaty between Octavius and Antonius, in the year 711, seemed to be most auspiciously ratified. But the bride was still a child, and the marriage had not been consummated, when the Perusian war broke out, and the angry husband revenged himself on his mother-in-law by divorcing her daughter. Octavius was now free to further his interests by another politic engagement. He was anxious to baffle his colleague's intrigues with Sextus, and with this view he sought, as we have seen, the hand of Scribonia, the sister of Libo, whose daughter had already become the consort of the young Pompeius. This marriage took place in 714, and its fruit was one daughter, who was early betrothed to Octavia's son Marcellus, and eventually given to Agrippa. But in the very year of this infant's birth the state of affairs had changed. Octavius was now once more on good terms with Antonius, and at open variance with Sextus; and the unfortunate Scribonia, who had been already made the spouse, or rather perhaps the victim of two former husbands, was now sacrificed to a political pique if not to an illicit passion. For on the disruption of this fragile tie the triumvir straightway carried off Livia Drusilla from her consort Tiberius Claudius, to whom she had borne one son and was about to pre-

sent another.[1] Of all his wives this is the only one whom Octavius can be supposed to have espoused from inclination. The admiration with which he regarded her, while she was yet united to another, she had the skill or the good fortune to retain to the last through nearly fifty years of an unfruitful marriage; and throughout the family history, and in much even of the public policy of the second of the Cæsars, we shall discover henceforward the arts and counsels of this consummate intriguer.

[1] Livia Drusilla was the daughter of a Claudius Pulcher, who was adopted into the Livian gens, and became Livius Drusus Claudianus. He was proscribed by the triumvirs, and slew himself in his tent at Philippi. By her first husband Tiberius Claudius Nero she had two sons, Tiberius Claudius Nero (who became afterwards emperor), born A.U. 712, and Nero Claudius Drusus, born soon after her marriage with Octavius, A.U. 716.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Antonius renews his intimacy with Cleopatra.—His infatuated devotion to her, and ill-treatment of Octavia.—He invades Parthia, is discomfited, and makes a disastrous retreat (718).—He attacks Armenia, and celebrates a triumph in Alexandria (720).—He enlarges Cleopatra's dominions with Roman provinces.—Orgies of their court.—Account of Alexandria.—Octavius increases his popularity in Rome.—His campaigns in the Alps, in Dalmatia, and Pannonia (719—721).—Ædileship and public works of Agrippa.—Popular indignation against Antonius.—Rupture between the triumvirs.—Antonius divorces Octavia.—The Republic declares war against Egypt.—Great armaments on both sides.—The battle of Actium, and rout of the Antonians.—Feeble attempt at resistance in Egypt.—Antonius kills himself.—Cleopatra seeks to fascinate Octavius.—Being reserved to grace his triumph she escapes by self-destruction.—Octavius puts to death Cæsarion and others.—Henceforth he affects clemency.—Apparent change in his disposition.—Character of Antonius. (A.U. 718—724. B.C. 36—30.)

Antonius meets Cleopatra in Asia, and endows her with Roman provinces.

THE triumph of Ventidius, the only Roman, as Plutarch reminds us, who up to his time had gained such a distinction for a Parthian victory, might cause some jealousy in the mind of Antonius, who was less content perhaps to owe his advancement and renown to his lieutenant's successes, than his more politic colleague Octavius. Another of his officers, C. Sosius, had performed as governor of Syria some martial or predatory exploits on the frontiers of that province, and Canidius Crassus had defeated the Armenians, with their Albanian and Iberian allies, and once more planted the Roman standards at the foot of the Caucasus. The triumvir might fear lest his own military reputation should suffer eclipse from the prowess of his lieutenants: already the saying had become popular that both Octavius and his colleague won more battles by the hands of their subordinates

than in their own persons.[1] But the charms of idleness and dissipation continued, after each succeeding interval of vigour, to regain their ascendancy, over him. After his return from Tarentum to his own sphere of empire, and the dismissal of Octavia, Antonius warmed again into life *that great evil which had long slept*, his passion for Cleopatra, which men had fondly hoped was extinguished by a more legitimate attraction. On his route to Syria he despatched Fonteius to invite her to leave her palace and meet him. The Egyptian queen rejoiced in this tribute to her reviving influence, and revolved in her ardent imagination new schemes of conquest and dominion. She aspired to make her dynasty independent of the galling influence of the republic, to consolidate a great Asiatic monarchy, which should rival Rome on the one side and Parthia on the other. She met Antonius in Lycaonia, and there held him fast in silken fetters, while she extorted from his complaisance presents the most glittering and the most dangerous. But even the donation of cities and territories hardly excited so much indignation among the Romans, as his public acknowledgment of the twins she had borne to him, to whom he gave the titles of the Sun and Moon, adopting without shame the inflated style of an Oriental potentate.[2] Antonius, however, even amidst the orgies of his barbarian court, was intently watching the revolutions of Parthia. The sovereign Orodes had recently resigned his throne to his son Phraates, and his successor had secured his seat by the murder of the abdicated monarch and the destruction of his numerous kinsmen, while many of the Parthian nobility had fled from the impending massacre, and taken refuge in the camps and cities of the Roman Empire.[3] Among these fugitives was Monæses, a

He makes preparations against the Parthians.

[1] Plut. *Anton.* 34.
[2] Dion, xlix. 32; Plutarch, *Anton.* 36.
[3] Dion, xlix. 23; Plutarch, *Anton.* 37.

man of rank and influence, whom Antonius received with ostentatious generosity, and gave him in fee some towns in Asia Minor, as the Persian king had once endowed the illustrious exile Themistocles. The Parthian monarch sought to withdraw his satrap from the enemy's blandishment by the offer of pardon and renewed favour; and Antonius permitted communications between them, and listened to overtures of reconciliation with the republic by which they were accompanied, in order, it is affirmed, to blind Phraates to his own preparations for war. All the Roman imperator claimed of the Parthians was the restoration of the captured standards of Crassus, and the liberation of such of the prisoners as still survived.

Campaign of Antonius against the Parthians.

Both parties were intent upon deceiving each other, and neither perhaps was deceived. Antonius allowed these futile negotiations to be protracted, well pleased to prolong his enjoyment of Cleopatra's society, and it was not till midsummer that he roused himself from voluptuous dalliance, and led an army of a hundred thousand men to the banks of the Euphrates. Here, as if about to plunge into the toils and perils of the Parthian deserts, he at last bade his mistress quit his side and repair to her own territories. But the attitude of defence assumed by the enemy on his own frontier was more imposing, perhaps, than he anticipated. The Roman general resolved to abandon his design of penetrating into the fastnesses of the barbarian empire, and contented himself with turning his arms against Artavasdes, king of Media Atropatene, an ally or dependent of the Parthian crown. Antonius placed himself under the guidance of the king of Armenia, who led his army through the southern districts of his country, an abundant and well-watered country, the same through which Crassus had rashly refused to direct his march. But while he sat himself down before the Median capital

Praaspa, the corps which covered his rear and protected his magazines and siege batteries was attacked by the dexterous adversary and cut in pieces.[1] The Armenians made an excuse for deserting their patron, and the Romans, destitute of stores and equipments, were exposed to the united assault of the Medes and Parthians. Antonius made desperate efforts to obtain possession of the city, within which he might have repaired his losses, and recruited himself for another campaign. But the want of machines could not be compensated by the bare valour of the assailants, and Phraates, who had now come up, enjoyed from a distance the sight of his adversary wasting his strength, and the time which was becoming precious, in these unavailing endeavours. The Roman proposed terms of accommodation; the Parthian laughed him to scorn. Antonius broke up from his camp soon after the autumnal equinox, when the winter was about to set in throughout the cold and lofty regions which surrounded him. The only course open for his retreat lay to the north-west, into the heart of a country still rougher and more inclement than that which he was about to quit; and the Armenians, to whose hospitality he must entrust himself, had already betrayed and abandoned him. The retreat lasted seven-and-twenty days[2], during which the sufferings of the Roman army were unparalleled in their military annals. The intense cold, the blinding snow and driving sleet, the want sometimes of provisions, sometimes of water, the use of poisonous herbs, and the harassing attacks of the enemy's cavalry and bowmen, which could only be repelled by maintain-

His disastrous retreat.

[1] Dion calls the city Praaspa, Plutarch Phraata, the locality is uncertain, and Livy (Epit. cxxx.) estimates the retreat to the frontier of Armenia at three hundred miles. Media Atropatene lay between the mount Zagrus and the Caspian, in the latitude of Osrhoene and the heads of the Tigris.

[2] Plutarch, *Anton.* 50. Livy says twenty-one days only.

ing the dense array of the phalanx or the tortoise, reduced the retreating army by one-third of its numbers. At length, at the distance of three hundred miles, it reached a river, which the historians designate as the Araxes, the boundary of Armenia, and when it had crossed to the further side, the enemy desisted from the pursuit. The brave and disciplined fugitives, however reduced in numbers and abashed in confidence, were still formidable to the people within whose frontiers they had arrived. The Armenians dared not repel them: but their leader was too impatient to renew his accustomed winter orgies to allow any long halt; and the rapid marches which he required of the wearied and dispirited legions cost them eight thousand gallant soldiers before they reached their resting-places within the Roman province. In Syria Antonius was met by Cleopatra; festivities recommenced with unabated splendour: the soldiers were gratified with presents of vestments and money, and the triumvir returned with his mistress to spend the winter in the palace of the Ptolemies.[1]

Antonius, to whom warfare and dissipation furnished alternate excitement of equal potency, now planned his revenge upon the Armenians and their crafty sovereign, Artavasdes. The Median chieftain, of the same name, now invited, instead of repelling him; for the Median and Parthian had quarrelled about the division of the spoil, and the former had been at ancient feud with his namesake on the Araxes. The Roman had failed in an attempt to seize the person of his Armenian enemy, by a treacherous summons to partake of the festivities of the Egyptian court. Artavasdes had prudently avoided the snare, and awaited the attack, which he now clearly foresaw, within his own frontiers. Antonius quitted the banks of the Nile in

[1] Plutarch, *Anton.* 51.; Dion, xlix. 33.

the spring of 719, and hoped, while pretending to lead another expedition against the Parthians, to surprise and master the crafty Armenian. Artavasdes was again saved by an accident. While Antonius was equipping himself in Syria for the campaign, his consort Octavia came from Italy to Athens. That noble matron felt the responsibility and the dignity of her position as the sister of one and wife of the other master of the Roman world. Two such rivals could hardly continue in harmony with one another; but she felt it to be her mission to maintain peace between them, to allay their jealousies, and interpret to them their misunderstandings. The connection between her husband and Cleopatra must be as fatal, she was assured, to his fame and fortunes as to her own domestic happiness. The Romans were growing more and more dissatisfied with it, while Octavius watched their rising irritation, and prepared, under the specious pretence of vindicating his sister's claims, to direct it for his rival's humiliation. The anxious wife now brought with her presents for her lord, and his principal adherents, together with money and equipments for his soldiers. She was attended also by a corps of two thousand men, whom she had armed with unusual splendour to serve as a body-guard to Antonius. But the heartless profligate refused to come into her presence. He coldly commanded her by a letter to remain at Athens, while he went forth on his Parthian expedition; but at the same time he did not scruple to accept the presents which her generosity had proffered. Cleopatra on her part feared to part with her admirer, while a rival she could not fail to respect still solicited an interview. She directed all the force of her charms and artifices to retain him at her side, and persuaded him to

Octavia brings men and money to Antonius (719). He refuses to see her.

[1] Plutarch, *Anton.* 53.

forego his threatened chastisement of the Armenian, and so postpone to another season the long impending demand for the standards of Crassus. These intrigues assured for the moment the safety of Artavasdes: but Cleopatra had nothing to fear from the proud consort of her unworthy lover; for Octavia scorned to play the rival to a foreign mistress, and returned with calm dignity to Rome, abandoning her reckless husband to the fate he merited. At home she was received with every demonstration of tenderness and respect by the citizens; the care she took of her children by Antonius, and even of those whom Fulvia had borne to him, all of whom were equally abandoned by their profligate father, moved their warmest admiration: but they reserved their pity, says Plutarch, for the wretched husband himself; especially such as had seen the woman to whose arts he had surrendered, and judged her to have no advantage over Octavia either in youth or beauty.[1]

Antonius attacks Armenia (720), and celebrates a triumph in Alexandria.

In the year 720 Antonius claimed his assigned succession to the consulship, which was duly conceded to him; but he cared not to enter upon its duties, and on the same day relinquished it to L. Sempronius Atratinus. With the spring he again quitted the Egyptian court, and repaired to his camps on the Parthian frontier. His advance was sudden, and Artavasdes was surprised by his appearance at the head of a powerful army before Nicopolis, in Lesser Armenia, from whence he despatched a peremptory summons to the barbarian chieftain to confer with him in person. The Armenian hesitated. Antonius dashed boldly into the centre of his dominions, and led his army to the walls of Artaxata on the Araxes. Artavasdes now ventured into his ally's presence. He was not allowed to recover his freedom, and with the sovereign in his power, Antonius found no resistance

[1] Plutarch, *Anton.* 57.

opposed to him by the people. The whole of Armenia fell for the moment into his hands: one or two Roman garrisons were left to demand a tribute and to hold some important positions, which sufficed to give to the occupation of the country the empty title of a conquest. The triumvir now abandoned once more his plans against the Parthians, and returned with a large booty and a train of royal and noble captives to Egypt, where he crowned the disgust of the Romans by parading the glories of a triumph, in which Artavasdes was led in chains before the admiring eyes of the Alexandrians.[1] The dazzling splendour of this military spectacle, combining the elegance of Greek and the gorgeousness of Asiatic invention, far surpassed, we may suppose, the most sumptuous pageants of Roman creation. But the pride of Oriental sovereignty was not satisfied without the personal homage of its captives, a humiliation which the good sense of the Roman conquerors had never permitted them to exact. The triumphal procession passed in slow pomp through the rows of wondering Copts and Macedonians, and reached at last the golden throne on a silver dais, upon which Cleopatra was seated. Here the Armenians were ordered to prostrate themselves before her feet; but this the sturdy mountaineers refused to do, and persisted in their refusal till Antonius was constrained, from mere shame, to waive the ceremony. This spectacle was succeeded after the Roman fashion by a grand entertainment given by the imperator to the Alexandrian people. Soon afterwards he convened an assembly of the citizens in the halls and gardens of the gymnasium, the chief place of public resort. They were received by Antonius and Cleopatra, seated side by side on thrones of equal height and splendour; on lower chairs they beheld the children

He assigns Roman provinces to Cleopatra and her children.

[1] Dion, xlix. 39, 40.; Plutarch, *Anton.* 50.; Strabo, xi. 14.

of their sovereign, both Cæsarion, the reputed offspring of the great Julius, and those she had borne to her later admirer. The triumvir delivered an oration in which he declared Cleopatra queen, not of Egypt only, but of Cyprus, Lybia and Cæle-Syria, and Cæsarion the partner of her sovereignty. This acknowledgment of the legitimacy of Cæsar's child was meant to invalidate the claim of Octavius to the dictator's inheritance, and was deeply and fatally resented by the injured heir. At the same time the triumvir did not scruple to designate his own spurious brood, the children of an alien paramour, as kings, the offspring of kings.[1] To Alexander, whom he arrayed in the flowing robe and peaked tiara, the Persian badge of royalty, he assigned with a magnificent wave of his hand the barbaric realms of the Armenian, the Parthian, and the Mede. To Ptolemæus, who wore the Macedonian cloak and bonnet, bound with the simple fillet, he pretended to deliver the throne of the Seleucidæ, with the Roman provinces of Cilicia, Syria and Phœnice. His daughter, who bore the name of Cleopatra, he endowed with the sovereignty of Cyrene; and he audaciously transmitted a mandate to Rome, requiring that these titles should be acknowledged and registered there.[2]

Ambitious views of Cleopatra.

The Alexandrian court now plunged again into the most extravagant debauchery; the queen still leading the way, and exerting her inexhaustible powers of invention in contriving new pleasures and amusements for the Roman voluptuary. She had secured, as she fondly

[1] Plutarch, *Anton.* 54.: *βασιλεῖς βασιλέων ἀναγορεύσας.* See also Dion. The Greek idiom is equivocal, and Plutarch may have really meant to say, that these personages were dignified with the pompous designation of "kings of kings" (Hoeck, *R. G.* i. 283,): but medals of the time exist with the legend in Latin, "Cleopatræ reginæ, regum filiorum regum,"—"kings the sons of kings." Vaillant, *Hist. Ptolem.* Sharpe, *Egypt under the Ptolemies*, p. 204.

[2] Plutarch, *l. c.*; Dion, xlix. 41.

deemed, the stability of her ancestral throne, and extended its outworks far beyond the boundaries with which her fathers had been contented. Vaster views of dominion were opening upon her; she might look forward, as no idle dream, to behold her pavilion planted on the Tarpeian hill, and erect the throne of Alexander among the trophies of Marius.[1] When she pledged her royal word with more than usual solemnity, she swore by the decrees she would dictate from the Capitol.[2] Nor was she really indifferent to the person of the illustrious lover whom she held captive. Though her own security had been her first object, and her ambition perhaps the second, we can hardly doubt that she was at last enslaved herself by a licentious passion, and that the various connections to which she had formerly submitted from interest or casual liking were now succeeded by a real and engrossing attachment. She might disdain the fear of a rival potentate, and defy the indignation of Octavius: but her anxiety about his sister was the instinct of the woman rather than of the queen. She could not forget that a wife's legitimate influence had once detained her lover from her side for more than a whole year; she might still apprehend the awakening of his reason, and his renunciation of an alliance which, she well knew, he felt at times to be bitterly degrading.[3] To retain her grasp of her admirer, as well as her seat upon the throne of the Ptolemies, she must drown his scruples in voluptuous oblivion, and discover new charms to revive and amuse his jaded

Dissipation of the Alexandrian court

[1] Propert. ii. 11, 45.:

"Fœdaque Tarpeio conopia tendere saxo;
Jura dare et statuas inter et arma Mari."

[2] Dion, l. 5.

[3] Roman history has few love romances, and I am willing to accept the view of Cleopatra's character which has been familiarized to us by so keen an interpreter of nature as Shakspeare. The ancients, it must be allowed, from the Roman point of view, saw nothing in her conduct but vanity and selfishness.

passion. Her personal talents were indeed of the most varied kind; she was an admirable singer and musician; she was skilled in many languages, and possessed intellectual accomplishments rarely found among the staidest of her sex, combined with the archness and humour of the lightest. She pampered her lover's grosser appetites by rank and furious indulgences, she stimulated his flagging zest in them by ingenious surprises; nor less did she gratify every reviving taste for nobler enjoyments with paintings and sculptures, and works of literature. She encouraged him to take his seat as gymnasiarch, or director of the public amusements, and even to vary his debauches with philosophy and criticism.[1] She amused him with sending divers to fasten salt-fish to the bait of his angling-rod[2]; and when she had pledged herself to consume the value of ten million sesterces at a meal, amazed him by dissolving in the humble cup of vinegar before her a pearl of inestimable price.[3] Her lover attended her in the forum, at the theatre, and the tribunals; he rode with her, or followed her chariot on foot escorted by a train of eunuchs: at night he strolled with her through the city, in the garb of a slave, and encountered abuse and blows from the rabble of the streets; by day he wore the loose Persian robe, with the Median dagger at his girdle, and designated as his palace the prætorium or general's apartment. Painters and sculptors were charged to group the illustrious pair together, and the coins of the kingdom bore the heads and names of both conjointly. The Roman legionary, with the name of Cleopatra inscribed upon his shield, found himself transformed into a Macedonian bodyguard. Masques were presented at the court, in which the versatile Plancus sank into the character

[1] Dion, *l. c.*

[2] Plutarch, *Anton.* 29.

[3] Plin. *H. N.* ix. 58.; Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 13. This sum may equal 80,000*l.*

of a stage-buffoon, and enacted the part of the sea-god Glaucus in curt cerulean vestments, crowned with the feathery heads of the papyrus, and deformed with the tail of a fish.[1] But when Cleopatra arrayed herself in the garb and usurped the attributes of Isis, and invited her paramour to ape the deity Osiris, the portentous travesty assumed a deeper significance. It had been the policy of the Macedonian sovereigns to form an alliance between the popular superstitions of their Greek and Egyptian subjects. Ptolemæus Soter had prevailed on the native priesthood to sanction the consecration of a new divinity Serapis, who if not really of Grecian origin, was confidently identified by the Greeks with their own Pluto, or perhaps with Zeus. The Macedonians had admitted with little scruple their great hero's claims to be the offspring of Ammon, the king of gods, who was worshipped in the Oasis of the desert. The notion that a mere man might become exalted into union with deity, favoured by the rationalizing explanations of their popular mythology already current among the learned, had gradually settled into an indulgent admission of the royal right of apotheosis.[2] It has been already mentioned that Antonius assumed the character of Bacchus at Athens. In the metropolis of Grecian scepticism this could only be regarded as a drunken whim: but when he came forward in Alexandria as the Nile-God Osiris, the Bacchus or fructifying power of the Coptic mythology, he claimed as a present deity the veneration of the credulous Egyptians.[3]

[1] Vell. ii. 83. This writer exhibits peculiar bitterness against Plancus. He had said of him (c. 63.), "dubia id est sua fide." In Pliny Plancus figures as the umpire of Cleopatra's wager above mentioned. When she was about to dissolve a second pearl, the fellow of the first, he snatched it from her, and it was afterwards cut in two, and so furnished pendants for the ears of a statue of Venus at Rome.

[2] On some of the coins of Cleopatra is the legend Κλεόπατρα θεὰ νεωτέρα. See Eckhel, iv. 23.

[3] Osiris was also a legendary king of Egypt, and the assumption of the character by Antonius may have had a political object.

Alexandria and the Alexandrians.

The social circumstances of Alexandria rendered this assumption of divinity not only significant to the eastern half of the empire, but peculiarly distasteful to the Romans themselves. It was in fact to set up a rival to the Capitoline Jupiter; and to suggest to the unsteady provincials that the Nile or the Orontes had equal claims to their reverence with the Tiber. The successors of Alexander had been no common antagonists even in the age of the Scipios; and the Roman senate had more than once hesitated before committing itself to a war with the opulent and populous East. One indeed of these dynasties had given place to the proconsuls of the republic; but an able and daring sovereign occupied the throne of the Ptolemies at the head of a wide confederation, and had added to her Macedonian phalanx and her Egyptian navy the discipline and terror of the Roman legions. The Alexandrian population was one of the most fierce, inconstant, and turbulent in the world. It combined the pride of the Greeks, the stubbornness of the Jews, and the sullen and acrid passions of the Coptic race. Into the original Macedonian colony, and into a city which its founder designed for the fortress and emporium of his domains, had been poured a busy and fermenting mass of human beings from the neighbouring Delta, from the adjacent Syria, from the islands and maritime towns of Hellas, and from nearly every quarter of the globe in which crime, poverty, or political change supplied a stream of exiles and adventurers. These elements were united rather by the city walls than by the affinities of law, lineage, or creed. Yet in one respect they were nearly all agreed, in aversion to the central control of Roman arms and edicts, and in a propensity to regard the ancestral and composite religions of the East with more favour than the barren simplicity of the Etruscan cult. But the tyranny of their rulers

had more than counterbalanced the advantages of their position and the liberality of their institutions. While the population of Egypt, if we may trust our authorities, had fallen off one half in the course of two centuries, the trade of Alexandria with the East was still limited and languid; she had not yet discovered the sources of her future opulence and renown.[1] Amidst this motley assemblage of conquerors and conquered, of natives and of strangers, one third, it is said, of the free population consisted of Jews, a people who had already begun to develop not only throughout Asia, but even in Rome, their strong national propensity for foreign sojourn and monetary dealings.[2] The Jews in Alexandria had connected themselves with the upper class rather than the lower: they had cultivated the Greek language, and imbibed perhaps some taste for Greek ideas; and when they became ashamed of retaining the oracles of their sacred books under the seal of the old Hebrew idiom, which had been long unintelligible to the vulgar even among themselves, they translated them into the Greek, as it was then spoken at Alexandria, rather than into the vernacular dialect of their compatriots in Palestine. They proved themselves diligent in traffic and docile as strangers in a foreign land, and thus obtained the reward of citizenship by a special decree. The free population of Alexandria is said to have amounted about this time to three

[1] Diodorus estimates the population of Egypt under the last of the Ptolemies at 3,000,000, which, even with the addition of the Alexandrian census, is scarcely half what he declares it to have been two hundred years earlier. This in all probability is to be confined to the free population. The reading, however, according to Wesseling, is uncertain. Diodor. i. 31., xvii. 52.

[2] Philo, speaking of the Jewish denizens of Alexandria, seventy years later, says that of the five quarters of the city two were called the Jewish, from the great proportion of inhabitants of that nation, and that there were many Jews in the other quarters also (*in Flacc* 8.). This influx of Jews began with the conquest of their country by Ptolemæus Soter, and was increased when Philometor offered them an asylum from the oppression of Antiochus Epiphanes.

hundred thousand souls[1]: the slaves have been loosely estimated at an equal number.[2] But if we reflect that the Egyptians had little opportunity of making captives in war, and that the means of purchase must have been confined to a small class; when we consider also the analogy of modern oriental cities, in which the possession of slaves is exceedingly limited, we shall be disposed to reduce this estimate by half or even two-thirds. It is probable that a large portion of the menial drudgery of the capital was still performed by the Coptic population; but the slave-dealers of Alexandria ministered to the demands of luxury and ostentation; and while their vessels imported the most accomplished artists that could be purchased in the harbours of Greece and Asia, caravans from the Bahr Abiad and the Niger conveyed to their markets the negroes of central Africa, and with them barbarians not less fair in complexion than the pale-faced denizens of the German forests.[3]

Popularity of Octavius in Rome.

The first month of the year 721 passed away in the capital of the East amidst licentious orgies, the rumour of which caused deep resentment at Rome, while the popularity of Octavius, not without reason, was rising daily higher. The heir of the dictator was gradually beginning to fill the space left vacant in the public eye by his

[1] Diodorus, xvii. 52.

[2] Gibbon, *Decl. and Fall.* c. xii.; Mannert. *Geog. Gr. und Röm.* x. i. 629. The length of the city was three miles and a half, and the breadth about one mile. Its shape was tolerably regular, so that Pliny's estimate of fifteen miles for the circuit must be erroneous, unless it is meant to include the suburbs.

[3] Lucan, x. 127.:

"Tum famulæ numerus turbæ, populusque minister;
Discolor hos sanguis, alios distinxerat ætas;
Hæc Libycos, pars tam flavos gerit altera crines,
Ut nullis Cæsar Rheni se dicat in arvis
Tam rutilas vidisse comas."

It is possible that these fair-haired slaves may have come from the north, perhaps from the interior of Russia; but there are some tribes of extremely light complexion in Africa almost under the equator.

uncle's death. His manners were affable, his concern for the public weal was passionate and unwearied, and even the pretence he still maintained of amity towards an unworthy colleague and an injurious relative seemed amiable and graceful. After the reduction of Sicily he had devoted some time to the establishment of a mild but firm government in Rome: in the following year, however, he had thrown himself without reserve into fatigues and dangers to maintain the honour of his country against hostile barbarians. He engaged the Salassi and Taurisci in person amidst the most difficult passes of the Alps, defeated the Liburni and Japydes in Dalmatia, and carried his arms against the Pannonians on the waters of the Save. The first of these wars he left Messala to bring to a conclusion; in the other he was occupied in person during three successive summers, and the scale on which his operations were conducted required the joint exertions of all his best commanders. At the end of three campaigns the general rising of the Illyrian tribes was effectually quelled, and the vast region from the Save to the borders of Epirus was reduced to the form of a province.[1] Octavius obtained the distinction of a wound in actual combat, besides incurring other dangers and injuries. The senate decreed him a triumph, but the moment was not propitious to the indulgence of vanity, and he discreetly deferred its celebration to a later period.

His campaigns against the Salassians, Pannonians, and Dalmatians. A.U. 719, 720, 721.

The military reputation of Octavius was thus fully restored at the moment when the disclosure of his rival's disasters in Parthia hung like a heavy cloud over the brilliancy of his former fame. The despatches which Antonius had sent to Rome had disguised his losses and disgrace; and the senate had been induced by

Octavius maintains amicable relations with Antonius.

[1] Liv. *Epit.* cxxxi., cxxxii.; Suet. *Oct.* 20, 21.; Appian, *Illyr.* 16—28.; Dion, xlix. 33—38.; Florus, iv. 12.

his specious representations, seconded by the influence of his colleague, who at that moment was still dubious of the event of the Sicilian contest, to decree sacrifices and thanksgivings in honour of his pretended victory. Even in the following year, after the defeat and death of Sextus, Octavius continued to lavish upon the absent triumvir professions of unabated good-will, and at his instance certain public honours were assigned him, his chariot was placed in front of the rostra, a statue was raised to him in the temple of Concord, and he was invited to assist with his family at the festive banquets of the goddess.[1] The young conqueror carried his professions so far as to address a letter of condolence to his rival, when the discomfiture of his expedition was no longer a secret. He affected to lament the envy to which his own recent successes would necessarily expose him. In the mean time he congratulated himself, in the society of his intimate associates, on the increasing ability and firmness of his legions, thus constantly exercised in distant and dangerous warfare; he fed the hopes of his followers with visions of future plunder, planned new expeditions which he had no expectations of effecting, and revived the recollection of his uncle's most romantic exploit, by threatening an attack upon the Britons.[2] Antonius gave no heed to the far-resounding din of his rival's armaments, but few of his countrymen were blinded probably as to their real destination.

Agrippa decorates the city as ædile.

Agrippa continued to follow diligently the footsteps of his illustrious patron, filling up the outline of his policy, and fixing upon him the admiration of the citizens. The triumvir was anxious that the people should be amused by shows and buildings of more than usual splendour, and in the year 720 this faithful minister descended

[1] Dion, xlix. 18.

[2] Dion, xlix. 38.

from the rank he had attained as a consular to serve the inferior office of ædile. He discharged the duties of this popular magistracy with unexampled magnificence. He renewed and beautified the most important public buildings, repaired the highways, cleansed the sewers [1], restored the aqueducts, and multiplied the fountains.[2] The decoration of the barrier of the circus with the figures of dolphins was attributed to his taste [3]; nor did he omit to dispense to the people an unlimited supply of the necessary articles of oil and salt, and throughout the year he furnished the whole population with the gratuitous services of the barbers. He opened, it is said, an hundred and seventy baths for public recreation, and his shows lasted through fifty-nine days without intermission. The presents he made of money and precious objects were more than usually lavish and systematic. The plunder of the Illyrian campaigns, from which Pollio is supposed to have founded his noble library for the use of the citizens, furnished doubtless the resources for this profuse expenditure. If the coffers of the generous ædile were drained by it, we may surmise that the triumvir freely opened his own hoards to supply the deficiency. For, grateful as the Romans might be to the agent through whom these bounties were dispensed to them, it was to Octavius himself that they attributed the principal merit of the design; and it may be presumed, when a rough soldier like Agrippa proposed that the innumerable works of art concealed in the villas of the wealthy should be amassed in museums for the gratification of the public, that he

[1] Agrippa caused himself to be conveyed in a boat up the Cloaca Maxima. Dion, xlix. 43.; Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 24., "Urbs subter navigata."

[2] Frontinus, *de Aquæduct.* c. 9.

[3] Dion, *l. c.* The spina or barrier of the circus was the low wall which ran along the centre of the area parallel to its length. Along the top of this wall Agrippa placed figures of dolphins and egg-shaped balls: *τούς τε δελφῖνας τά τε ὠοειδῆ δημιουργήματα κατεστήσατο, ὅπως δι' αὐτῶν αἱ περίοδοι τῶν περιδρόμων ἀναδεικνύωνται.*

was obeying the master impulse of another hand only slightly veiled from general observation.[1] The morals and even the tranquillity of the city were promoted by a salutary edict of Agrippa's ædileship for the banishment of astrologers and soothsayers. At this period also Octavius commenced the series of public works which became some of the most durable monuments of his fame. With the fruitful spoils of the Dalmatian war he constructed the library and portico to which he gave the name of his sister Octavia, of which some mutilated features still exist, and attract the student of antiquity to the most squalid quarter of the modern city. On the death of Bocchus king of Mauretania, the ruler of the imperial republic constituted a Roman province of his ample domains.[2] The god Terminus planted his foot firmly on the western slopes of the Atlas; but he disdained even to visit the vaunted conquests of Antonius, who pretended to annex Armenia and Media to the empire, while he affected with the same breath to bestow them upon his mistress or his favourites.

Rupture between the triumvirs.

When Octavius felt assured that his popularity had taken root, he became less solicitous to maintain the appearance of good-will towards the object of general odium. Already at the beginning of the year 721 the rivals had entered upon a series of angry recriminations. Antonius objected that his colleague had expelled Sextus from the seat of his power, and deprived Lepidus of the share of the administration which had been guaranteed to him, without dividing with himself the troops and provinces wrested from them. He further complained that Octavius had assigned the

[1] Compare Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 9.: "M. Agrippa vir rusticitati propior quam deliciis. Exstat certe ejus oratio magnifica et maximo civium digna de tabulis omnibus signisque publicandis; quod fieri satius fuisset quam in villarum exilia pelli. Verum eadem illa torvitas tabulas duas Ajacis et Veneris mercata est a Cyzicenis."

[2] Dion, *l. c.*

lands of Italy to the Cæsarean veterans without making or leaving room for any provision for the absent Antonians. Octavius retorted by charging his rival with the murder of Sextus and the cruel captivity of the king of Armenia, a friend and ally of the republic, whose honour suffered by such harsh injustice. Nor did he fail to brand with due censure the honours which he had conferred upon the foreign queen and her upstart children, and to complain of the claim he advanced on behalf of Cæsarion. As for the insinuations against his disposal of the troops and territories he had acquired by his own prowess, he replied that Antonius had made no offer to share with a colleague his Armenian conquests, and he contrasted, with bitter irony, the petty assignments of land which he could make to his own followers in Italy with the broad domains which the self-styled conqueror of the Parthians pretended to have acquired beyond the Euphrates and the Tigris.[1]

Antonius courts the alliance of the king of Parthia.

Stung by these sarcasms Antonius tore himself from the fascinations of the Egyptian capital, and rejoined his legions on the Syrian frontier, at the head of which he penetrated once more to the Araxes, declaring that he was about to bring the contest of Rome with Parthia to a final decision. But he already perceived that the ruler of the West was only watching the opportunity to attack him, and instead of wasting his own forces in a difficult and uncertain conflict, his real object was to negotiate with the king of Media the terms of an alliance against the powers of the western world. The barbaric sovereign obtained a share of the kingdom of Armenia, and a detachment of Roman legionaries to strengthen him against the Parthians; in return for these favours he furnished the triumvir with some squadrons of Median cavalry, and restored some standards which he had captured from his

[1] Plutarch, *Anton.* 55, 56.; Dion, l. 1, 2.

legate Statianus. At the same time he betrothed his daughter Iotape to Alexander, the infant son of Antonius and Cleopatra, and allowed her to be carried into Egypt as a hostage for his fidelity.[1]

Antonius collects his armies, and winters (722) at Samos.

As soon as these negotiations were concluded, the triumvir turned his face once more westward. He had already appointed Cleopatra to meet him at Ephesus; thither he directed Canidius to lead sixteen legions of Roman veterans, thoroughly trained in many arduous campaigns, and devoted to the person of the imperator who had shared their direst reverses. There also he summoned his auxiliaries and allies. His officers levied fresh battalions among the subjects of the republic in Greece and Thrace, Asia Minor and Syria, the wide provinces through which his command extended, and the aid of the barbarians from the Caspian to the Syrtis was invoked to swell the multitude of all colours, arms, and languages assembled under his banners, a numerous fleet was collected from the ports and islands of the eastern Mediterranean; the most daring seamen and the most skilful navigators of the world belonged to the portion of the Roman dominions which acknowledged the authority of Antonius. The queen of Egypt exerted herself to assume such a martial attitude as should comport with her claims to universal sovereignty. Her armies were numerous and well-appointed: their native pride had never been damped by defeat: her navies were justly celebrated for the size of their galleys and the weight of their artillery; and she could pour into the lap of her patron and admirer treasures hoarded through centuries of commercial splendour. Yet the real object of these vast preparations was still unavowed. The triumvir might seek still to amuse the eyes which watched him, by throwing himself once more, while they were in progress, into the frivolous dissipation

[1] Dion, xlix. 44.

by which he had so repeatedly disgraced himself. He passed the winter at Samos with Cleopatra in the same sensual pleasures which had been witnessed by Athens and Alexandria. The delicious little island was crowded with musicians, dancers, and stage-players; its shores resounded with the wanton strains of the flute and tabret. The resources which should have been husbanded for the approaching conflict were lavished upon a splendid Dionysiac festival, and the new Bacchus appeared again at Athens and repeated the same puerile extravagances as in former years, while every day was hurrying matters to a crisis, and provoking the long suspended signal of war. The messengers that passed between the rivals served only to enact the part of spies. Hollow explanations were mutually given of the formidable preparations making on both sides; but neither party was deceived, and the farce of dissimulation was now almost played out.[1] While their preparations were in progress the consulate for the year 722 was filled by two adherents of Antonius, Domitius and Sosius, in accordance with the previous agreement between the triumvirs which Octavius had not deemed it politic to cancel. The consuls opened their career with a vehement harangue in favour of their chief, and a severe invective against Octavius. The latter was absent at the time from the city: he speedily returned, convened the senate, and pronounced a no less bitter reply. Through the first half of the year Rome still hung in awful suspense, awaiting the call to arms, and only hoping that the bolts of war might glide off from the absent triumvir and strike his Egyptian paramour, the legitimate object of national detestation. But while the summons was still withheld the citizens pressed their lips and stifled their anticipations. The prevailing sentiment of gloomy yet vague foreboding found

General expectation of war.

[1] Plutarch, *Anton.* 57. foll.; Dion, l. 6. foll.

expression in the voice of a youthful enthusiast. Cherished by Mæcenas, and honoured with the smiles of Octavius himself, Virgil beheld in the sway of the chief of the Romans the fairest augury of legitimate and peaceful government. With strains of thrilling eloquence, not less musical than those with which Lucretius had soared into the airy realms of imagination, he descended to the subject of the hour and gave words to the thoughts with which every bosom was heaving. He invoked the native gods of Italy with Romulus and Vesta, guardians of Tuscan Tiber and Roman Palatine, to permit the youthful hero to save a sinking world. He reminded his countrymen of the guilt of their fathers' fathers, which had effaced the landmarks of right, and filled the world with wars and a thousand forms of crime. He mourned the decay of husbandry, the dishonour of the plough, the desolation of the fields; he sighed over the clank of the armourer's forge, and the training of the rustic conscript. It was not the border skirmishes with the Germans or the Parthians that could excite such a frenzy of alarm; it was the hate of neighbour against neighbour, the impending conflict of a world in arms. The foes of Rome were indeed raging against her, but her deadliest enemy was of her own household. Virgil pointed to the Rhine and the Euphrates, but his eye was fixed upon the Nile.[1]

[1] See the concluding lines of Virgil's first Georgic:

"Hinc movet Euphrates, illinc Germania bellum:
Vicinæ ruptis inter se legibus urbes
Arma ferunt; sævit toto Mars impius orbe."

The critics are divided as to the period to which they refer. In the year 717 there was actual warfare on the Rhine and the Euphrates, but at that time there was apparent harmony between the triumvirs, and the prospect at least of universal pacification. On the other hand, in the year 722 there was no apprehension of hostilities on the eastern or the northern frontier, but there was a general foreboding of civil war. Among the prodigies of the year 722 Dion mentions an eruption of Etna: compare,

"Quoties Cyclopum effervere in agros
Vidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Ætnam."

While the Antonian consuls occupied the chief seats of the magistracy, it suited the policy of Octavius to pretend that they grasped the substantial power also. Accordingly, in absenting himself from the curia at the moment of their accession to office, he affected to apprehend violence beyond the means of a private citizen to resist; and when he returned to confront his enemies and repel aggression, he placed soldiers at the door, and surrounded himself with an escort of sturdy adherents, each of whom only half concealed a dagger folded in his robe. Thus doubly protected he took his accustomed place between the consuls, and from that august eminence defended himself in terms of studied modesty, while he turned against Antonius and his creatures the language of opprobrious accusation. The adherents of the absent triumvir were struck dumb; no voice was raised in his defence; and when Octavius summoned the senate to meet again on a certain day to hear a more formal disclosure of his charges against his colleague, the consuls evaded the blow which they felt to be impending by escaping secretly from the city. This precipitate retreat, under the avowed pressure of personal danger, might recall a painful reminiscence of the flight of the tribunes to Cæsar's camp at Ravenna. The consuls hastened to rejoin their patron in the East, and were attended or followed by many of the senators. Antonius rejoiced at having a public rather than a personal grievance to inscribe upon his banners; such a grievance, indeed, as had decided many generous minds at the opening of the late war. Octavius, on the other hand, sought to break the force of this specious pretence by declaring that he had allowed the fugitives to depart on their own petition, and, to confirm the truth of this assertion, he gave free leave to all who wished it to betake themselves to the camp of his enemies.[1]

The consuls abandon Rome, and repair to Antonius.

[1] Suetonius, *Octav.* 17.; Dion, l. 2.

This act of homage to the prescriptions of law and order was attended with the happiest effects. It conciliated the prejudices of the citizens, vexed at the first symptom of reviving violence, and anxious for any colourable justification of the cause to which they were already devoted. It threw upon a feared and detested renegade, the tyrant of a foreign court, the slave of a foreign mistress, the odium, and as was devoutly believed, the curse due to an invader of his country. But Antonius still enacted a Roman part. When he assumed the vindication of the injured magistrates of the city, he convened the members of the senate in his train, and gave to his hostile declarations the colour of a legitimate decree. He crowned the insults which he heaped upon Octavius with a formal missive of divorce to his injured consort; but neither his public nor his private grounds of offence sufficed to satisfy the consciences of those around him, many of whom now shrank from his side and threw themselves into the arms of his enemy. The defection of Titius, an officer in whom he had placed great confidence, but whose zeal in the execution of Sextus he strenuously disavowed, was a great blow to his fortunes. And when he was deserted by Plancus, who had abandoned every cause and every patron in turn, it was apparent that the shrewdest of observers had discovered the weakness of his resources and the peril of his position.

Antonius proclaims himself their protector.

These two personages had been intimate associates of the triumvir, and had not only shared in all his political counsels, but also attested his will. This document, as was not unusual with such important instruments, had been entrusted to the custody of the Vestal virgins at Rome. The traitors could not only disclose the contents, but reveal to the government the place where the paper was deposited. The populace was more scrupulous than its rulers, and murmured at the

Plancus and Titius divulge the contents of his will, which exasperates the people against him.

meanness or impiety of Octavius in profiting by this treachery, and breaking the seals which divine and human laws pronounced eminently sacred. But, when the fatal contents were divulged, indignation overruled every other feeling. No terms, it was insisted, should be kept with the basest of traitors, who could own a child of Cleopatra as the legitimate offspring of Cæsar, confer upon a foreign potentate and her bastard brood the treasures and territories of the republic, and direct his own body to be entombed with hers in a foreign sepulchre. When these amazing facts were known, the citizens were prepared to believe implicitly any story or surmise that could be bruited against the culprit. Who could doubt that Antonius had pledged Cleopatra in his cups to sacrifice the West to her ambition, and remove to Alexandria the government of the world; to spurn the Gods of the Forum and the Capitol, and prostrate Mars and Quirinus before the monsters of the Nile? The torrent of popular indignation swept the waverers and the neutral along with it. No one ventured to doubt, to hesitate, or to palliate; Octavius cast his eyes on the ground, and listened with suppressed exultation to the wild acclaim which greeted him as the champion of the nation, the assertor of its principles, and the defender of its faith. But he could still calculate calmly the chances of success, and abstain from wanton affronts. To declare Antonius a public enemy, which the people loudly demanded, would have been to pronounce sentence against every Roman who had arrayed himself on his side. To these, his misguided adherents, he would still leave open the door to repentance, and he contented himself, and persuaded the citizens to be content, with proclaiming war against Egypt. This ceremony he performed in person, in the garb of a Fetial herald, according to the solemn rites of antiquity, at the portals of the Temple of Bellona, the citizens

Octavius declares war against the queen of Egypt.

thronging densely around him arrayed in their soldiers' cloaks.[1] He thus threw upon his rival the odium of the blackest treason, in drawing his sword on behalf of a foreign enemy against his own country and kindred.

Antonius replies by divorcing Octavia.

It was from Athens that Antonius issued his declaration of war and his bill of divorce. This last act was the crowning effect of Cleopatra's influence, and the consummation of her triumph. She had evinced the utmost jealousy of every attempt of her victim to renounce her fascinations, and retrieve his good name in fields of honourable warfare; and when he at last roused himself to action for the defence of his political ascendancy, and advanced towards the West to measure himself with his imperious rival, she clung more closely than ever to his side in spite of the earnest entreaties of Domitius and others, that he should drive from his presence the bird of evil omen, as unfit even from her sex to undergo the toils or share in the direction of the war. They would have sacrificed the two hundred ships and twenty thousand talents which she contributed to the cause, rather than retain the disadvantage of her disgraceful alliance. The resolution of Antonius was for a moment shaken, but the sorceress speedily resumed her sway. He replied, and probably she dictated the answer, that in none of his allies did he discover a superior in understanding to her, who, while she ably governed her own kingdom, partook with himself the arduous cares of his eastern administration. This avowal was sealed by the divorce of Octavia. Her base and profligate husband sent persons to Rome to conduct her repudiation with all the harshness of the law. They ejected Octavia from the house which was no longer hers, and drove her to take refuge with her brother, carrying with her all the

[1] Dion, l. 4.

children Antonius had left in Italy, among whom were not only her own, but those of Fulvia also. The Romans greeted her with admiration and pity; but her sorrows were not for herself but for the passions for which she was the victim, and for the rupture of which she might deem herself the unoffending cause. The simplicity of her demeanour had won her popularity wherever she had sojourned, and the dignified reserve with which she veiled a certain coldness of temperament, common to her perhaps with the astute Octavius, commanded the veneration of the most dissolute communities. At Athens she had not only been hailed with honours when present, but the remembrance of her virtues continued to be cherished after her departure. Cleopatra was jealous even of her rival's shadow, and could not bear to be haunted by it in the dwelling she had quitted. She strove to outshine in liberality the name which she could not imitate in virtue, and the fickle Athenians were induced to compliment her in a public harangue.[1]

The military preparations which Antonius had made, although they did not take his adversary by surprise, caused him deep anxiety from their promptness as well as their magnitude. In the midst of much real and some affected dissipation, the eastern triumvir had displayed his great abilities in the collection and disposition of his vast forces. Nor was he satisfied with this naval and military superiority, but exerted himself to undermine his enemy's power with gold, which he lavished among the Cæsareans in Italy. Conscious of the intrigues at work against him, Octavius dared not quit the centre of affairs; and the report of prodigies, as well as the disturbances caused by the contributions he was forced to levy, demanded his constant presence in the city. After

Preparations on both sides.

[1] Plutarch, *Anton.* 57.

all it was only by an accident that he escaped being attacked in the peninsula; for Antonius had advanced as far as Corcyra, and his troops were gradually concentrating on the points from which they could most readily be transported across the Ionian gulf, when a premature announcement that Octavius had himself crossed over from Italy and was lying with his whole fleet off the Ceraunian headland, persuaded the assailant that his attack was anticipated, and induced him to await the encounter on his own shores. Owing to this misapprehension the rest of the year 722 passed away without a blow being struck: Octavius employed himself vigorously in pushing forward his preparations and counterworking his rival's emissaries; and when on the first of January 723 he assumed the consulship with his friend Messala, to the rejection of Antonius, to whom it had been previously guaranteed, he was hailed as the legitimate defender of the state and leader of its armies. The term assigned to his triumvirate had now elapsed: he increased his popularity by declining to renew it. At the same time he addressed a letter to Antonius, in which he demanded that he should withdraw all his forces to a certain distance inland, in order that they might confer together securely at some point on the eastern coast of the Ionian sea, or meet on similar conditions in Italy. This last feint was intended to inspire his soldiers with confidence, but Antonius, as he expected, put it aside, remarking scornfully, *Who then shall stand umpire between us if either infringes the covenant?*[1] There was now no third power, like that of Lepidus, to pretend to hold the scale between them.

Octavius resigns the triumvirate.

Every moment of delay increased the difficulties of a leader who lavished his resources with frivolous

[1] Dion, l. 9.

prodigality. Antonius had adopted Patræ for his winter quarters, but for the better support of his vast armies he had dispersed them in small divisions along the coast of the Ionian, though a large portion of their subsistence was supplied by sea from Egypt at the charge of Cleopatra. If the whole of these battalions could have been assembled together, they would have presented a magnificent force of an hundred thousand legionaries and twelve thousand horse, besides the countless squadrons of Oriental auxiliaries, led for the most part in person by their native chieftains. These formidable armaments were placed under the command of Canidius Crassus. Antonius had determined, at Cleopatra's instigation, to decide the war at sea, on which element she knew that her own subjects were strongest; and accordingly he chose his own post at the head of his numerous war-vessels. The galleys which he had collected in the gulf of Ambracia, near the promontory of Actium, amounted, it is said, to five hundred in number, many of them rising to ten banks of oars, and labouring through the sea with unwieldy bulk and proportions. But these magnificent machines were for the most part ill-manned and inexpertly handled; their captains had been obliged to press landsmen for the service, and travellers, muleteers, and field labourers had been seized and hurried on board to learn the duties of war and navigation together, almost in the face of the enemy. For the coast of Calabria from Tarentum to Brundisium was bristling meanwhile with the masts of the Cæsarean flotilla; hardly reaching indeed in number to one half of the Antonian, and not less inferior perhaps in the size of its vessels. But the Liburnian galleys were fully equipped, skilfully manœuvred, and adapted for light and rapid movements, which in ancient warfare was generally of the first importance. It

Comparison of the respective armaments by sea and land.

might be remembered however that this class of vessels had been sorely worsted by the mariners of Sextus, and that the great victory of Agrippa off Naulochus had been decided by the superior weight of his armament; and doubtless Octavius relied upon the genius of his admiral more than on his ships, his seamen, or his fortune. His army consisted of eighty thousand Roman legionaries, well-trained and appointed, with cavalry not inferior in number to his antagonist's. He was much less encumbered with subsidiary forces; yet he might despair of transporting so vast a multitude across the sea in the face of the Antonian cruisers; and he must have rejoiced to find that the enemy, whom he could hardly have reached to strike on land, was prepared to meet him at sea.

Octavius crosses the Ionian gulf.

Throughout the winter both parties watched each other, and engaged only in petty skirmishes. Agrippa assumed the offensive, while Antonius rather avoided than parried his attacks. The Cæsarean commander cruised over the whole of the Ionian sea, cut off numerous transport and merchant vessels of the enemy, and established himself securely at Methone in the Peloponnesus, from whence he annoyed him by repeatedly attacking his stations on the coast.[1] Meanwhile the Antonian navy suffered in various ways, partly from the want of exercise for the men, partly from sickness, partly also from desertion. Shut up in their ports, the motley crowds which imperfectly manned it gained little in experience, while they dwindled away in numbers.[2] The straits were left unguarded, the sea was abandoned. Octavius seized the opportunity, assembled his troops with admirable

[1] Dion, l. 11.; Oros. vi. 19.

[2] Orosius says that one-third of their number perished from hunger, and pretends to quote a saying of Antonius on the occasion, that while the oars remained sound, there would be no want of oarsmen, as long as there was a population in Greece. Oros. *l. c.*

precision, and transported them across the Ionian gulf to Toryne on the coast of Epirus. He summoned the principal citizens from Rome to attend upon the progress of his arms[1]: on the one hand they were pledges of the good will of the state towards him, on the other they were hostages for its good faith. Encircled by this brilliant retinue he steered for Corcyra, which was abandoned to him without a blow; he gained the continent at a spot called Glykys Limen, the fresh-water harbour, where the river Acheron discharges itself into the sea; and from thence he boldly directed his course towards the gulf of Ambracia, at the mouth of which the vast armaments of Antonius were arrayed line within line. He was aware of the hardships under which the Antonians were suffering, and of the discontent which the presence and haughty bearing of Cleopatra excited amongst their officers. The information he had received led him to anticipate an important defection from their ranks as soon as he should appear in force before them. In this however he was for the time deceived, and when the enemy promptly assumed an attitude of defence he retired from the position he had taken at the entrance of the gulf, and brought his galleys to anchor in port Comarus.

He encamps at the entrance of of the Ambracian gulf, within which the Antonian fleet is stationed.

The army which had disembarked at the foot of the Acroceraunia directed its march southward along the coast till it reached its commander at the spot where the fleet had come to land. The camp was formed on a slight eminence in the neighbourhood, the site upon which Octavius afterwards founded his City of Victory, Nicopolis. From this elevation, as he fronted the position of the enemy, he might behold on his right the expanse of the Ionian sea, on his left the deep bay of Ambracia, which penetrates

[1] Dion, l. 11.

thirty miles into the mainland, and has a mean breadth of not less than ten. This sheet of water is bordered by a wide alluvial plain, and surrounded by an amphitheatre of hills, crowned in the extreme distance by the snowy ridge which divides Epirus from Thessaly and Ætolia. Before him, the ground sloped gently to the narrow inlet of the gulf, and faced a tongue of low land, projecting from the shores of Acarnania on the south, and bending the channel of the straits like the limbs of a siphon.

The Actium.

At the tip, or *acte*, of this peninsula stood a temple sacred to Apollo, denominated the Actium, or chapel of the Point; and here the neighbouring tribes had been wont to celebrate an annual festival in honour of their tutelary deity. At this period the whole of this strip of land was covered with the armaments of Antonius; his camp lay on the sea coast, in a low marshy spot, where the health of the troops had suffered extremely from damp in the winter, and the heats scarcely yet passed of the summer. On either side of the strait he had erected redoubts, and the vast multitude of his vessels effectually barred the inlet, which was scarcely half a mile in width.

Antonius prepares to engage.

Octavius might despair of making any impression upon so strong a position except through the treachery of the defenders. Having fortified his camp he connected it by a line of entrenchment with the station of his fleet at Comarus, and according to an uncertain tradition, made an abortive attempt to transport his vessels on greased skins across the peninsula which he occupied, and so turn the flank of his adversary's fleet. The attempt, if it was really made, and there certainly seems no sufficient motive for making it, was not persisted in. The invader sate himself quietly down, and bided the errors or misfortunes of his adversary. Antonius himself was at Patræ, when he heard of the enemy's

arrival on the coast. He proceeded with his usual gallantry to confront the danger, in the face of which his martial spirit seemed always to revive. From his camp at Actium he crossed the straits, and entrenched himself with the main body of his infantry in front of the Cæsarean lines, sending at the same his cavalry round the head of the gulf to attack the enemy in flank and rear. But he had left Agrippa behind him. No sooner had he quitted Patræ than the pursuer occupied it, and hastening in his track, reached the island of Leucas, near the entrance of the gulf, and cut off a naval squadron of the Antonians under the command of Nasidicus. At the same time Statilius Taurus and the traitor Titius, who did not scruple to join in the enterprise against the patron he had deserted, though Pollio had been excused from arming on the ground of his private friendship with Antonius[1], gained a victory over the cavalry, which was making the circuit of the gulf, and carried off Philadelphus king of Paphlagonia, as the first fruits of the extensive defection which was about to take place. The example of the barbarian potentate was immediately followed by Domitius, the son, as we have seen, of the most inveterate of Cæsar's enemies. Nothing was simpler than to plead disgust at the influence of the Egyptian harlot; and this was the pretext offered by the renegade and accepted with suppressed scorn by Octavius. Antonius was alarmed and distressed at this instance of perfidy; but he magnanimously sent the traitor's slaves and baggage after him, resisting Cleopatra's more vindictive counsels. Domitius was suffering at the time from fever, and his death, which took place only a few days afterwards, was regarded by many as a sign of tardy remorse. But the example was fatal. Amyntas, who had received Pisidia from the triumvir, and Deiotarus king of Galatia, went over without

Defection among his officers and allies.

[1] Vell. ii. 88.

delay, and in the midst of the discouragement and distraction which these losses occasioned, the party most hostile to Cleopatra exerted themselves to urge more vehemently than ever her immediate dismissal. Canidius advised his leader to quit the fleet, in which arm he deemed success most uncertain, and break away with the land forces into Thrace or Macedonia, and there await on chosen ground the attack of an inferior enemy,

His forces are defeated in partial engagements.

The defection of individuals was followed by the defeat of detachments. Sosius made an unsuccessful attack upon Agrippa's galleys[1], and Antonius himself was worsted in a skirmish with the outposts of the land forces. These repeated checks reduced him to the necessity of abandoning his plan of combining a front and flank movement on the enemy's main body, and when his troops and officers were once more collected in the camp at Actium, he had already renounced the idea of encountering the enemy either by land or sea. It was the advice of the dastard Cleopatra, such at least was the rumour, for the Romans could not bear to brand even the renegade Antonius as a coward, to abandon the defence of Greece to a few garrisons, and withdraw the main body of sea and land forces to Egypt. But in order to maintain the appearance of a hostile attitude and encourage the allies, it was determined that the fleet should put to sea in battle array, and give to its projected retreat the appearance of a challenge. The fleet of Antonius had never been fully manned; its complements were now still more reduced by sickness and desertion, and it became necessary to destroy a large number of the vessels. The best and largest were retained, laden with treasure, and filled with twenty thousand chosen legionaries and two thousand

He determines, by Cleopatra's advice, to withdraw to Egypt.

[1] Dion has made a slip of the pen in stating that Sosius was killed in this skirmish. He mentions him again several times.

bowmen. The soldiers were dismayed at the preparations for flight which could not be concealed from them. One of the centurions, who had fought through several campaigns for the leader who was about to desert him, and was covered with scars, wept as Antonius passed along the ranks. *Imperator*, he exclaimed, *why do you distrust these wounds, or this sword, and rest your hopes on miserable logs of wood? Let Egyptians and Phœnicians fight on sea, but give us land, on which we are wont to conquer or die.* The imperator had no words to reply with; but merely waved his hand in cold encouragement, and passed quickly on. Another of his officers, Q. Dellius, had just gone over to the enemy. He was now suspicious of everybody and had lost all confidence in himself. He abandoned himself to the guidance of Cleopatra, whom he feared, perhaps and distrusted hardly less than the rest. It is said that at this time he insisted upon her tasting all the viands which were offered to him. Cleopatra derided the futility of such a precaution. She placed a chaplet on his head, and in the course of the banquet invited him to cast the flowers into his goblet, and quaff them in the wine. When he was about to pledge her she abruptly stopped him, and commanded a condemned criminal to swallow the draught. The wretch fell instantly dead at her feet. The flowers had been steeped in poison.[1] Every preparation was now made for the speediest flight, and when Antonius pretended that the sails he ordered to be put on board were provided for the pursuit of the vanquished enemy, the boast of his lips was belied by his downcast eye and distracted countenance. Indeed the victory of the Cæsareans, as was generally remarked, was already assured before the conflict commenced. So great was the moral advantage they derived from the constant defections from the enemy, from the confidence

[1] Plin. *H. N.* xxi. 9.

which generally accompanies offensive operations, and from the various successes they had already gained, which they showed an eager disposition to push to the utmost. Nevertheless the material resources of Antonius were exceedingly formidable. When the mighty masses of his bargelike vessels thronged in dense array the mouth of the inlet, they seemed capable of crushing with overwhelming weight the light galleys which presumed to oppose them. The gales which blew four days in succession prevented the fleets meeting, but on the fifth a calm ensued. At noon a light breeze arose from the sea, and the Cæsareans advanced gallantly in two squadrons, led respectively by Agrippa and Octavius himself.[1] When they found that the enemy would not come forward to meet them, they spread their wings as if to envelope them on either side. Then at last Antonius gave the signal to join combat. The water along the coast near the outlet of the gulf appears, at least at the present day, too shallow for the movements of the large vessels which were now engaged, and it is probable that Antonius stood out into the open sea to give himself more room for manœuvring, and, if necessary, for escape. But his huge hulks were ill-adapted for advance or retreat. They were protected, and at the same time encumbered, by bulky frames of timber attached to their sides, and the fragile triremes dared not impinge against them either in front or flank. They carried arsenals in their holds and citadels on their decks. They hurled massive stones from wooden towers, and thrust forth ponderous irons to grapple the unwary assailant. But the Cæsarean galleys came to the attack with agile and dexterous manœuvres. Their well-trained rowers bore up and backed alternately, or swept away the banks of the enemy's oars

The fleets encounter before the mouth of the bay.

Battle of Actium.

[1] Plut. (*Anton.* 65.), confirmed apparently by Virgil. Velleius, whose sketch is rapid and inaccurate, gives a different arrangement.

under cover of a shower of arrows. They scudded round and round the unwieldy masses in parties of three or four to each, distracting the attention of the defenders, and protecting each other in turn from grappling and boarding. The combat was animated but indecisive; the Liburnians, the light cavalry of the seas, crippled but could not destroy the steadfast phalanxes of Antonius. But while his unmanageable barges rolled lazily on the water, incapable of attacking, and scarcely repelling the desultory attacks of their pigmy assailants, suddenly the wind shifted. The breeze was favourable for flight. Cleopatra, whose galley was anchored in the rear, hoisted the purple sails on her gilded deck[1], and threaded rapidly the maze of combatants, followed by the Egyptian squadron of sixty barks. This movement, unexpected to the last by either party, was ascribed to a woman's cowardice; but from what had already passed in the council, there can be no doubt that it was previously concerted. When Antonius himself, observing the appointed signal, leaped into a five-oared galley, and followed swiftly in her wake, the rage and shame of his adherents filled them with desperation. Many tore down the turrets from their decks and threw them into the sea, to lighten their vessels for flight. Others only nerved themselves for a more furious struggle; while the Cæsareans exulting in the prospect of a speedy triumph, rashly attempted to board and met many severe repulses. The struggle was still arduous, and victory not yet assured. Shattered and disabled as these floating masses were, it was impossible to sink or disarm them, until fire was resorted to. Octavius sent to his camp for the requisite materials; torches and burning javelins were hurled into them from a distance, piles of combustibles were drifted against

Cleopatra flies, and is followed by Antonius.

Destruction of the Antonian fleet.

[1] Flor. iv. 11.

them: one by one they took fire, and from the want of implements at hand it was impossible to extinguish the rising conflagration. One by one they burnt down to the water's edge and sank slowly into the abyss; the Cæsareans attempted in vain to save them, not so much from humanity, as for the hope of booty; but men and treasures went together to the bottom, and all the fleets of Asia were buried in the wilderness of waters.[1]

The Augustan poets describe the battle in sympathy with the national sentiment.

As a spectacle, a sea-fight in modern times is said to be obscure and uninteresting. The manœuvres it admits of are few and simple, and the skill and courage of the combatants could hardly be appreciated at a distance, even if the thick pall of smoke which envelopes them with little intermission did not conceal them from the spectator and from each other. But a naval battle of antiquity must have presented a far more exciting spectacle. The field of view was not too extensive, the atmosphere was unclouded by smoke, and the movements of attack and defence, at so many different points, were even more diversified than the charge and recoil of battalions on land. The contrast between the size and tactics of the vessels engaged at Actium must have added variety and interest to the scene, as beheld from either shore of the Ambracian gulf; and it was beheld by two armies comprising perhaps twice an hundred thousand spectators, whose emotions of hope and fear, of delight and consternation, were expressed in many a roar of exultation, or long-drawn murmur of anxiety. But the moral setting of the

[1] For the events of the campaign and battle of Actium see Plut. *Anton.* 58—66.; Dion, l. 3—35.; Flor. iv. 11.; Oros. *l. c.* From Dion's account of the battle it would seem that far the greater part of the Antonian ships perished. Plutarch, on the other hand, says loosely that three hundred were captured. After the number which Antonius himself destroyed, and the desertion of the Egyptians, which this writer mentions, hardly so many as three hundred could have been engaged. The slain were estimated by Plutarch at five thousand, by Orosius at twelve thousand.

picture endues it with a still higher charm. The masters of Roman song have vied with one another in adorning with the hues of the imagination the decision of the *world's debate*. Horace brands the inebriate frenzy of the Egyptian, who had dared to threaten with ruin the Capitol and the empire. Propertius ascribes the triumph to Apollo, who cast aside his lyre and grasped his bow, and exhausted his quiver in defence of Rome. Virgil assumes all his strength and majesty to delineate the crowning victory of his imperial hero. The East and West have met in decisive conflict, and the rout of Actium has prostrated the world before the fathers, the people, and the gods of his country.[1] The issue of the long struggle of the nations against the all-conquering republic is indeed a momentous event in human annals. The laws and language, the manners and institutions of Europe still bear witness to the catastrophe of Actium. The results it produced can never recur to our minds without impelling us to reflect upon the results we may suppose it to have averted. It would be monstrous indeed to admit that the triumph of Antonius could have permanently subjected Rome to Egypt, the West to the East. The vitality of European intellect would have thrown off the yoke of an inorganic and alien despotism; the spirit which defended Hellas from the Persian, and Christendom from the Moor, would have avenged Rome upon the Copt and the Arabian. But the genius of an Octavius could hardly have been replaced; none but himself among his own generation could have founded a dynasty on the ruins of the republic, and in the next generation the opportunity would have passed away. The empire of Antonius would have been dismembered like that of Alexander, and in the first century, instead of the fifth, the Western world would have

[1] Hor. *Od.* i. 37.; Propert. iv. 6. 55.; Virg. *Æn.* viii. 679.

been split into petty and degenerate principalities. The Goths, let loose prematurely upon their victims, would have exterminated ideas which neither awed nor attracted them. The arts and manners of Rome would have left no deeper traces in the mind of Europe, than Hellas has impressed upon Western Asia. The language of her Curia and her Forum would have been forgotten, and the writings of Cicero would have crumbled in her dust. We might guess her grandeur from her imperishable Cloaca, and measure her power by the foundations of her walls; but her roads and camps would be a marvel and a mystery, and Cæsar a name like Ninus or Sesostris.

Antonius and Cleopatra fly together to Alexandria.

Antonius urging to the utmost the speed of his light bark, gained rapidly upon Cleopatra's flying squadron. When the queen of Egypt recognised her pursuer, she raised a signal to encourage him to come alongside of her vessel, and caused him to be lifted upon deck. But whatever the motives of his flight, the imperator felt his dishonour and was overwhelmed with shame. He could not endure even to come into her presence, but sate apart at the prow of the ship, and buried his face in his hands. The swift Liburnian galleys followed in pursuit, and were not repulsed till two of the vessels which accompanied his flight were taken. When this danger was past, in which the wretched fugitive had roused himself for a moment and displayed his usual promptitude and courage, he relapsed once more into gloomy silence, and for three days repelled every attention. At last Cleopatra's women persuaded him to speak with their mistress, and her caresses regained their power. She assured herself that with so renowned a captain for her forces she could still maintain the sovereignty of her kingdom, and that she was not yet reduced to make terms with the ruler of Rome. The fugitives put to shore at Tænarus, and from thence the imperator

despatched orders to Canidius to lead his land forces through Macedonia into Asia. It was an empty command; Antonius himself must have felt that he was already a general without an army; for he began to prepare for the worst, dividing among his attendants such valuables as he had with him, and exhorting them to quit his own precarious service, and capitulate with the conqueror. He then set sail with Cleopatra for Alexandria.

Canidius deserts to Octavius, and his troops surrender.

The battle, according to some accounts, ended at four o'clock. It seems more probable however that it continued late into the evening. In the afternoon the wind veered to the west, as usually occurs there at that period of the day, and the freshening breeze fanned the fury of the flames. As the shades of evening began to close, the Antonian soldiers, who had watched with bitter anxiety the distress and peril of their leader's fleet, now read in the wide-spread conflagration the utter destruction of his hopes. But they had failed to notice his shameful desertion, and to the last they expected to see him land and throw himself into their ranks, which they bitterly lamented that he should ever have quitted. The men loved and venerated their imperator, and the contempt they had been taught to entertain for Octavius gave them the fullest assurance of victory on land. For seven days they continued to cherish this delusive expectation. Canidius at last marshalled the retreat, and led them forth on the road to Macedonia. But the troops of Octavius were already in motion to arrest their progress. Canidius himself was faithless or desponding. He eluded the vigilance of his own centurions, and escaped secretly to the conqueror. When this last defection became known the Antonians indignantly threw down their arms, or consented to employ them in the service of Octavius. The whole military force of the republic, which counted

from thirty to forty legions, was thus combined under the auspices of a single imperator.[1]

Date of the battle of Actium, Sept. 2.

The great battle of Actium was fought on the second of September A. U. 723; and this date has been formally recorded by historians as signalizing the termination of the republic and the commencement of the Roman monarchy.[2] Octavius himself regarded it as the inauguration of a new era. As a perpetual memorial of this complete and final triumph, he founded a city upon the site of his camp, and gave to it the name of Nicopolis, the City of Victory. The spot on which his own tent had been pitched he caused to be paved with masonry as holy ground, and suspended around it the beaks of the captured vessels. Here he erected a shrine to his patron Apollo, and commemorated with punctilious superstition the fancied omens of his success.[3] The remains of a long and lofty wall, of a spacious theatre and stadium, of a broken aqueduct, and of many irregular groups of houses, baths and sepulchres, attest the magnificence of the scale on which Nicopolis was planned. The mass of ruins is mostly of Roman brickwork, and betrays by its material and construction that it was planted on Grecian soil by the hands of foreigners and masters. The mountaineers of the neighbourhood were compelled to migrate from their wild fastnesses, and families of husbandmen or brigands were converted by the caprice of the founder into burghers of a maritime city. They were placed under the iron formulas of Roman civilization, and learned the rudiments of municipal science under the tuition of

Octavius founds Nicopolis in commemoration of his victory.

Treatment of the vanquished.

[1] Plut. *Anton.* 76. foll.; Dion, li. 5. [2] Dion, li. 1.

[3] In this shrine Octavius placed two brazen statues representing the peasant Eutychus, or Good-luck, and his ass Nicon, the Victorious. He had met them the day before the battle, and derived encouragement from their names, which he had carefully inquired.

Roman veterans.[1] The site of the new city lay at some distance from both the sea and the gulf, and a separate haven was constructed on the shores of the inland basin, for the supply of its wants and exchange of its commodities. The little chapel of the point was replaced by a more splendid structure in honour of the god who had given victory to the Romans. Octavius instituted a gymnic and musical festival, with the designation of the Actian games, to recur at this spot every fifth year, and this solemnity continued to be respectfully observed for many generations.[2]

These peaceful monuments of victory were reserved however for the work of a period of greater leisure. The first business which occupied the conqueror was to decide the fate of the vanquished. From his treatment of the captives of Actium the panegyrists of the future emperor might take occasion to celebrate his clemency, his detractors to stigmatize his rigour.[3] Some of the most illustrious of his opponents he put to death with circumstances of great cruelty, and among them was a son of the tribune Curio, whose devotion to Cæsar and services in his cause should have secured a milder fate for his offspring. On the other hand a Scaurus was pardoned for the sake of his mother Mucia, though a half-brother of Sextus Pompeius, and the life of Sosius, an inveterate foe, was granted to the entreaties of a common friend. Meanwhile the army exulting in their success, from which they hoped for the realization of all their golden dreams, proclaimed their leader for the sixth time imperator. They

Treatment of the captives.

[1] Strabo, vii. 7. Comp. Wordsworth's *Greece*, p. 232.
[2] Dion, li 1.
[3] Ovid. *Trist.* ii. 44.:

"Tu veniam parti superatæ sæpe dedisti,
Non concessurus quam tibi victor erat.
Divitiis etiam multos et honoribus auctos
Vidi, qui tulerant in caput arma tuum."

On the other hand may be cited the story in Dion, li 2., compared with Suetonius, *Oct.* 13.

were doomed, however, to disappointment. The treasures of Egypt had been carried off in the barks of Cleopatra; the spoils of war had perished in the conflagration of the enemy's fleet; the Antonian army had capitulated on honourable terms: there was no camp filled with plate, jewels, and splendid accoutrements, to be devoted to plunder, and the great victory of Actium proved rich in laurels but barren in spoil. The soldiers showed a disposition to resent this disappointment; but Octavius, who had faced and quelled their mutinous cries before, broke their rebellious spirit by dispersing them in various quarters and dividing their interests. He selected certain legions for his immediate service in carrying the war into Egypt; and these he satisfied with the prospect of a more fruitful victory. The veterans whom he had enticed from their lands in Italy he dismissed to the enjoyment of their estates, while the fresh recruits whom he had enlisted in the provinces were constrained to return to their homes unrewarded. But he justly feared the consequence of this general discharge of his turbulent and discontented legionaries. Mæcenas, who had been left at the head of affairs at Rome, was of inferior rank and a civilian by profession; but Agrippa commanded the fear no less than the love of the citizens, and when he was entrusted with full powers for the administration of the government during the absence of his chief, the tranquillity of the republic and the authority of its ruler were amply secured. Octavius now directed his course through Greece and along the coast of Asia Minor. He exacted contributions from disaffected cities, deprived free populations of their privileges, displaced dependent chieftains, and established new dynasties on their thrones.[1] At the close of the

[1] Dion. li. 2.

year he crossed the sea once more, and met at Brundisium a large multitude of citizens of all ranks, who came thither to pay him honour, as consul for the fourth time. He now seized for distributiou among his soldiers the lands of some Italian cities which had favoured his rival, assigning to them in exchange the confiscated territories of Greek and Asiatic communities. He divided also among the most pressing claimants the treasures he had amassed in his progress during the autumn, and even proposed to offer for sale his own private estates and those of his most devoted adherents. When it was found that no one ventured to compete for them in the market, his creditors could not refuse to wait a little longer for the satisfaction of their claims.[1]

Cleopatra reaches Alexandria, and prepares to escape by the Red Sea.

Meanwhile the fugitives from the blood-stained waves of Actium had reached Alexandria in safety. At the first sight of the Egyptian fleet returning the idle and turbulent populace had flocked to the beach and the quays, and, as it approached, welcomed with exultation the prows crowned with laurel, the streamers flaunting in the breeze, and the chaunt of victory wafted from the decks. The queen had taken measures to anticipate the effect which the announcement of her disaster might produce. She summoned the chief people of the city into her presence, and caused the arrest and immediate execution of those whose disaffection she feared. She caused Artavasdes the Armenian to be put to death, and sent his head to the king of Media, as a pledge of amity and an incentive to further exertions in her favour. The populace, moody and discontented when the ill news spread, remained quiescent for want of leaders, and the rifled coffers of the murdered nobles furnished treasures to secure the fidelity of the soldiers. Antonius had

[1] Dion, li. 4.

stopped at Paratonium, where some Roman troops were stationed under Pinarius for the defence of Egypt, intending to bring them with him to Alexandria. But when that officer shut the gates against him and killed the bearers of his missive, the desperate state of his affairs flashed fully upon him, and he was with difficulty prevented from laying violent hands on himself. His attendants dragged him to Alexandria, where he found the queen, whose courage and energy rose with her danger, preparing with a mighty effort to abandon the kingdom which she knew it was impossible to defend. She had undertaken to transport her ships across the desert to the head of the Arabian gulf, to load them with the choicest troops and treasures she yet retained, and to sail far away to some secure regions beyond the reach of the conqueror whose pursuit she dreaded.[1] It seems uncertain whether she had intended to invite her infatuated lover to accompany her flight. The first detachment of ships which reached the shores of the Red Sea was burnt by the Arabs of Petra, and Antonius, who had now rejoined her, believing that the legions under Canidius were still his own, persuaded her to abandon the design. Some trifling measures were now taken for guarding the approaches of Egypt, until the army should arrive, and the respite afforded by the pursuer's unavoidable delay might have been turned to account for putting the kingdom in a state of defence. But Antonius had lost all energy. He built himself a solitary retreat in the sea, which

Her plan is disconcerted.

[1] Plutarch (*Anton.* 69) asserts that Cleopatra proposed to convey her ships across the isthmus "which separates the Red Sea from the sea of Egypt," which he estimates at less than half its real width. It is more probable that she contemplated opening the canal of the Ptolemies from the Nile to the Red Sea, which, if it ever was completed, on which Pliny (*H. N.* vi. 35.) throws some doubt, may have been abandoned and partially closed at an early period.

he connected with the island of Pharus by a mole; and there he withdrew himself from all society, and brooded gloomily over the wreck of his fortunes.

Cleopatra now adopts measures of defence, and at the same time negotiates with Octavius.

Cleopatra was not daunted even by this desertion. She had abandoned at her lover's instance her scheme of flight and dream of Arabian sovereignty. She now urged on her preparations for defence with prudence as well as vigour. In order to conciliate the favour of her subjects she invested her youthful sons with the garb of manhood, and presented them to the people as their leaders, that they might feel themselves governed by men and not by a woman. At the same time she sought to treat with Octavius in her own name and that of Antonius, but to these solicitations he persisted in returning no answer. Abandoned by the cowardice of her ally, she now sought her own safety by betraying him. The conqueror, she augured, might be bribed to save her by the splendid ransom she could pay for her kingdom. She sought and obtained, it was said, secret assurances of his favour, accompanied with a promise that her sovereignty should be respected, on condition of her putting Antonius to death. But Egypt was a prize which the ruler of the Roman world was not likely to forego, and no such terms, he might be convinced, were necessary to effect the destruction of his enemy. There was no hope of foreign succour. The chieftains to whom Cleopatra had applied for aid were easily induced by his agents to refuse it; and finally, a band of gladiators who had striven bravely to force their way from Cyzicus, where they were kept in training to celebrate the anticipated victory over Octavius, were compelled to surrender to his lieutenant Didius.[1]

[1] Dion Cassius wonders, not without reason, at the devotion displayed by these hired swordsmen. They were at last only induced to surrender upon a promise that they should be dismissed from

Despair of Antonius and Cleopatra.

And now the wretched pair became more and more urgent in their solicitations to the ruler of their destinies. Antonius abased himself so low as to remind his ancient colleague of the mutual regard which, he averred, they had entertained for each other in their earlier years; but Octavius, so far from yielding to these claims, put one of his envoys to death, and dismissed another, the triumvir's son Antyllus, without deigning to accord him an answer. The chief of the Romans felt neither delicacy nor compunction in dealing with his outlawed adversary. He retained the money which had been sent to bribe him, at the same time that he refused even to listen to the messengers who brought it. His only fear was lest the suppliants with whom he thus cruelly sported should be driven to desperation, and destroy, as they threatened, the treasures they had amassed in their capital. In order to avert such a catastrophe he charged his freedman Thyrsus to amuse Cleopatra with a hint that he was enamoured of her; hoping to decide her resolution by an appeal to her vanity, and induce her to sacrifice Antonius to a new conquest, if not to her personal security. Antonius, on his part, was not unaware, perhaps, of these intrigues, nor confident of the queen's good faith. He quitted his retreat, and sought her society again in the palace; there he kept watch over her movements, while each perhaps attempted to deceive the other, and stifle the consciousness of despair by plunging into revelry and excess. Strange stories were told of the way in which they amused themselves. They formed, it was said, with their boon companions a society to which they gave the name of the Inimitable Livers, the members of which were pledged to discover the

their employment as gladiators, and allowed to take up their abode at Daphne near Antioch. Messala broke the pledge which Didius had given them, dispersed them in small parties as if for enlistment in various legions, and caused them to be slain in detail. Dion, li. 7.

means of enjoyment for every hour of the day. But a change had come over the character of their orgies: they no longer roamed abroad disguised and inebriated, and filled the streets with nocturnal tumult and reckless gaiety: they bound one another mutually to die together, and Cleopatra made experiment of various poisons, trying their effect on slaves or criminals, to ascertain if there be any mode of death which is a pleasure and not a pain. The means which were speediest in their operation proved at the same time the most excruciating. The true euthanasia she discovered, it is said, in the bite of the asp, which suffused the brain with languor and forgetfulness, and extinguished the faculties gradually without any sense of suffering.

Just at this period, while the arrival of the conqueror off the coast of Egypt was daily expected, Antonius obtained information that Cornelius Gallus, one whom, though an officer in his rival's armies, he esteemed a personal friend, had reached Parætonium and received from Pinarius the troops which, as before mentioned, had rejected his own solicitations. He hoped, through his interest with their new commander, to be more successful in a second appeal, and repaired with confidence to the spot. But Gallus, exulting in the trust reposed in him by Octavius, from whose favour he might hope for the highest promotion, disregarded every solicitation: he ordered his trumpeters to drown with the clang of their instruments the address which his suitor advanced to deliver under the walls, and succeeded by a feint in enticing his vessels into the harbour, and there capturing or destroying them. While Antonius was thus fruitlessly engaged his adversary had reached Pelusium, which Cleopatra had charged the garrison to surrender after a slight show of resistance. The representations artfully made to her by Thyrsus had worked upon her

Octavius lands in Egypt. Cleopatra hopes to make an impression on his heart.

imagination, and while she was fully sensible that the invader's arms were irresistible, she still, in her thirty-ninth year, flattered herself that her own charms would prove not less omnipotent. Visions of a Roman throne still flitted before her: her hopes had twice been frustrated, but she still relied on the arts which had so well served her; she played boldly with the loaded dice, and threw her last cast with a hand that had never faltered.

Antonius is successful in a skirmish, and challenges Octavius to single combat, which is refused.

Antonius recovered some portion of his energy as the danger became more pressing. Perhaps the assurance of Cleopatra's treachery, the fear and suspicion of which had long unmanned him, restored him to his former spirit. Rushing back from Parætonium he encountered the invader's cavalry before the walls of Alexandria, and routed it in a brilliant skirmish. Thereupon he ordered javelins to be cast into his antagonist's camp, with billets attached to them, in which he promised six thousand sesterces to every soldier who should desert to him. But Octavius quietly picked up these missives, and himself recited their contents to his soldiers: so great was his influence, that he could engage them to resent with indignation the attempt upon their fidelity. A second affair resulted in the defeat of Antonius. In this extremity it was reported that he sent his conquering foe a challenge to single combat, which was of course contemptuously refused. He now made ready to take to sea, and was preparing, it was said, either to attack the enemy or to steer for the coast of Spain, when the machinations of the faithless queen prevailed on the sailors to desert. Antonius was himself still on land when he beheld his vessels salute those of his adversary, and join their ranks. At the same moment the last battalion of his soldiers abandoned him. Cleopatra, who was herself taken by surprise at the sudden-

He is deserted by his fleet and army.

ness of this defection, found herself for an instant in the power of her outraged and indignant associate. Fearing the fury of his despair, she enclosed herself with a few female attendants in a splendid mausoleum she had caused to be constructed for her own sepulchre, and spread the report that she had put herself to death. Antonius was satisfied. His wrongs were avenged, and his indignation was appeased. He had no further hope of life, and nothing more to live for. At the last moment he could indulge the soothing persuasion that the traitress had repented of her treason, and had died for the lover she had betrayed. In this sweet dream, not less delusive than all the hollow enjoyments of his career of dissipation, Antonius determined to die. With the aid of an attendant he inflicted upon himself a mortal wound, and fainted with loss of blood, though he did not immediately expire. Cleopatra was apprised of the fatal deed, and shuddered with a pang of remorse. As soon as the wounded man came to himself a messenger was introduced to him from her, with the assurance that she yet survived. This last avowal of tenderness roused the dying embers of his passion. He entreated his attendants to convey him to her place of refuge; and from a window above the queen and her women let down a rope, to which he caused his litter to be attached, and lifted into the upper chamber. His strength just sufficed for this last inverview, and he expired in a few moments in the arms of the mistress for whom he had sacrificed his fame, his fortunes, and his life.

On the rumour of Cleopatra's death, Antonius gives himself a mortal wound.

The lovers' last interview.

A slave had brought the fatal dagger to Octavius, and exhibited the blood of his enemy still reeking upon it. The conqueror affected to weep for a man so closely allied to him, and one who had held so eminent a place in the commonwealth. He pretended to be anxious to justify him-

Octavius attempts to get possession of Cleopatra.

self to those about him, and showed them the letters which had passed between them, in which his own moderation and the arrogance of his rival were conspicuously displayed. In the meantime he sent a trusty officer, Proculeius, to the place whither Antonius had been carried in the agonies of death. The wounded man had already breathed his last; the doors of the massive sepulchre were closed, and the women refused to admit their strange visitor. A threat of violence might drive the imprisoned queen to destroy herself, and the messenger was strictly charged to preserve her alive, partly for the sake of the hidden treasures which she alone, it was supposed, could reveal, and partly that she might form the most attractive spectacle in the destined triumph of Octavius. Proculeius contrived to detain her in conversation with a confederate at the door, while with one or two soldiers he climbed by a ladder to the upper story. As he entered, Cleopatra wildly grasped the dagger she wore at her girdle; but he arrested the movement, and forcibly restrained her arm, while he exhorted her to recover her self-possession, and put entire confidence in his kind and honourable master.

He enters Alexandria.

All attempts at defence had been already abandoned, and on the first day of the month Sextilis, at the moment perhaps when these events were happening, the emporium of the three continents opened its haven to the Roman galleys. The palace of the Ptolemies was vacant, and the city of Alexander knelt in supplication.[1] From the auspicious advent of the conqueror who was about to incorporate them amongst the subjects of his empire, the Egyptians dated a new era in their chronology. He neither returned nor heeded the compliments they lavished upon him. He en-

[1] Hor. *Od.* iv. 14.:

"Portus Alexandrea supplex
Et vacuam patefecit aulam."

tered the city leaning upon the arm of the philosopher Areius, and when he took his seat in the gymnasium, and summoned the citizens into his presence, he declared that their resistance was pardoned, first, out of respect for their illustrious founder; secondly, for the beauty of their streets and edifices; and thirdly, for the merits of his friend, their fellow-townsman. Many of his officers asked permission to give decent interment to the corpse of Antonius, but he allowed Cleopatra to dispose of it after her own fashion; and he was well-pleased perhaps to learn that the body of one whose arrogant and alien manners had caused such disgust to his fellow-citizens, was embalmed and robed, and buried with royal obsequies among the remains of kings.

When these ceremonies were finished Cleopatra allowed herself to be led to the palace of her ancestors. Exhausted with fever by the vehemence of her passionate mourning, she refused the care of her physician, and declared that she would perish by hunger. Octavius was alarmed at the avowal of this desperate resolution. He could only prevail upon her to protract her existence by the barbarous threat of murdering her children. He held out also the hope of a personal interview, and again her vanity whispered to her not yet to despair. The artless charms of youth, which, as she at least deemed, had enchained the great Julius at a single interview, had long since faded away; the more mature attractions which experience had taught her to cultivate for the conquest of her second lover, might fail under the disastrous ravages of so many years of indulgence and dissipation: but time had not blighted her genius; her distresses claimed compassion; and from pity, she well knew, there is but one step to love. In the retirement of the women's apartments she decked her chamber with sumptuous magnificence, and

and seeks an interview with Cleopatra.

threw herself on a silken couch in the negligent attire of sickness and woe. She clasped to her bosom the letters of her earliest admirer, and surrounded herself with his busts and portraits, to make an impression on the filial piety of one who claimed to inherit his conquests and sympathise with his dearest interests. When the expected visitor entered she sprang passionately to meet him and threw herself at his feet; her eyes were red with weeping, her whole countenance was disordered, her bosom heaved, and her voice trembled with emotion. The marks of blows inflicted on her breast were visible in the disorder of her clothing. She addressed him as her lord, and sighed as she transferred to a stranger the sovereign title she had so long borne herself, and which she had first received from her conqueror's father. The young Roman acknowledged the charms of female beauty, and had often surrendered to them: but he knew also his own power of resisting them, which he had already sternly practised, and he now guarded himself against her seductions by fixing his eyes obdurately on the ground.[1] He coldly demanded the justification of her political conduct; upbraided her for making war upon the republic; refused to admit the plea that she was constrained by her associate, and drove her from point to point with ruthless pertinacity. Despairing of conquest she threw herself upon his mercy, handed to him the list of her treasures, and pleaded piteously for bare life. A slave, interrogated and threatened perhaps with torture, declaring that some of her effects were still withheld, she flew at him, and tore his face with her nails, exclaiming that she had indeed reserved a few trifles, not for her own use or ornament, but as presents to gain

She attempts to fascinate him without success.

[1] For the continence of Octavius see Nicolaus of Damascus, *Vit. Aug.* 5. 15.

the favour of Livia and Octavia. Her visitor checked her with a smile; he was satisfied with the conviction that she was anxious still to live, and he now sought to encourage her with the assurance that he would treat her better than she expected. He went away, says Plutarch, thinking that he had deceived her, but he was more deceived himself.

Cleopatra had tasked her powers of fascination to the utmost, and she knew that they had failed. She penetrated the design of carrying her to Rome through the cold though courteous demeanour by which it was veiled, and she sternly resolved to frustrate it. From a son of Dolabella, who had conceived a romantic passion for her, she heard without surprise that even within three days she was to be conveyed away with her children, to adorn the conqueror's triumph. She formed her plan with secresy and decision. She directed her attendants to make ready for the voyage, while she only desired permission to pour libations on the tomb of Antonius. Octavius, now secure of his victim, readily consented. The queen repaired with her female companions to the mausoleum. She gave orders for a banquet to be served, and in the meanwhile embraced the dead man's bier, and mingled her tears with the wine she poured upon it. She addressed her lord in terms of unabated affection, appealed to his conviction of her faith and love, and besought him, as one having power with the gods of his country, for her own gods, she said, had deserted her, not to suffer himself to be triumphed over in the person of a wife devoted to him, but to let her die upon his coffin and find her sepulchre in his tomb. Sentinels meanwhile kept guard outside; a man in peasant's clothes approached with a basket on his arm, which when they uncovered and found in it figs of unusual beauty, he pressed them to partake of them, and

Cleopatra is reserved for the conqueror's triumph.

She commits suicide.

they allowed him to carry them in. Soon after the queen commanded all her attendants to leave her, except her two favourite women, Iras and Charmion, and at the same time she sent a sealed packet to be delivered to Octavius. It contained only a brief and passionate request to be buried with her lover. His first impulse was to rush to the spot and prevent the catastrophe it portended: but in the next moment the suspicion of a trick to excite his sensibility flashed across him, and he contented himself with sending persons to inquire. The messengers made all haste; but they arrived too late; the tragedy had been acted out, and the curtain was falling. Bursting into the tomb they beheld Cleopatra lying dead on a golden couch in royal attire. Of her two women, Iras was dying at her feet, and Charmion with failing strength was replacing the diadem on her mistress's brow. *Is this well, Charmion?* exclaimed abruptly one of the intruders. *It is well,* she replied, *and worthy of the daughter of kings.* And with these words she too fell on her face and died.

The manner of Cleopatra's death was never certainly known. It seems that there were no marks of violence on her person, nor did any spots break out upon it, such as usually betray the action of poison. But the experiments she was reported to have made on the bite of venomous reptiles were remembered: these were coupled with the story of the basket of figs, in which such means of destruction might easily be concealed. It was rumoured that Octavius employed the services of the Psylli, the poison-suckers of the desert, to restore his victim to life; and at last it came to be positively affirmed that her arms were found slightly punctured, as with the fangs of an asp. This, at least was the account of the affair which Octavius himself allowed to be circulated. When the figure of Cleopatra was

afterwards carried in his triumph, she was represented reclining on a couch with the asp clinging to either arm, and mortal sleep stealing slowly through every limb.[1]

Octavius causes Cæsarion to be put to death.

The last sovereign of the line of the Ptolemies died on the thirtieth of August, 724, in the fortieth year of her age, and the twenty-second of her eventful reign. Her last wish was not denied her. She was buried as a queen by the side of her favourite; and when his statues were overthrown by the order of the ruthless conqueror, the effigies of the most renowned beauty of antiquity were redeemed from destruction, by no respect, it is said, for her charms, her genius, or her rank, but by a bribe of a thousand talents adroitly administered by one of her servants. Still less could the claims of admiration or pity prevail to save the wretched child, whose origin she had proudly ascribed to the great dictator. He had been publicly proclaimed the lineal descendant of Julius Cæsar, the

[1] Propert. iii. 11. 53.:

"Brachia spectavi sacris admorsa colubris,
Et trahere occultum membra soporis iter."

The actual mode of Cleopatra's death was a mystery to the ancients themselves. Undoubtedly Octavius was anxious to preserve her life, and she must have fallen by her own act. The test of discoloration is very uncertain, and it is not improbable that among her experiments she had ascertained a method of destroying life by poison without disfigurement. The notion that the asp was the instrument of death may be derived from the mysterious agency attributed by the Orientals to the serpent tribe. The Roman poet himself use the phrase *sacri colubri*; but I would not be supposed to adopt the lively rhapsody in which M. Michelet indulges on this subject (*Hist. de la Rép. Rom.*, at the end): "Le mythe Oriental du serpent que nous trouvons déjà dans les plus vieilles traditions de l'Asie, reparaît ainsi à son dernier âge, et la veille du jour où elle va se transformer par le Christianisme. . . . . L'aspic qui tue et délivre Cléopâtre ferme la longue domination du vieux dragon Oriental. . . . . . C'était une belle et mystérieuse figure que l'imperceptible serpent de Cléopâtre, suivant le triomphe d'Octave, le triomphe de l'Occident sur l'Orient."

For the account of the last days of Antonius and Cleopatra, see Plutarch, *Anton.* 69. to the end; Dion, li. 6—15.; Vell. ii. 87.

direct heir of the imperial patrimony, to which Octavius could advance only the claim of adoption. While the struggle for supreme power was still pending, Oppius had been employed to write in disproof of these arrogant and hateful pretensions. What his arguments were we have no means of knowing; certain it is that Octavius felt it necessary to reinforce them by the sword. Antyllus, the son of Antonius by Fulvia, had been betrayed by his attendant Theodorus, and put to death.[1] The triumvir's children by Cleopatra were still suffered to live, though deprived of course of their pretended sovereignties; this show of clemency may have been held out as a lure to Cæsarion, whom his mother had removed from the scene of danger and sent privily into Ethiopia. In an evil hour the poor youth was induced to return on a hint conveyed to him that he was to be placed on the throne of Egypt. Still, it is said, Octavius hesitated how to dispose of him, when Areius determined him to command his execution, by an adroit adaptation of the Homeric adage, *'Tis no good thing a multitude of Cæsars.*[2] The conqueror proceeded to vindicate his filial piety by avenging the blood of the dictator on Cassius Parmensis, the last survivor of his murderers. He caused a certain Ovinius to be put to death, because he had degraded the dignity of a Roman senator in becoming the superintendent of the queen's tapestries.[3] It is said

[1] The triumvir had two sons by Fulvia; the eldest, M. Antonius, was known perhaps at Alexandria by the Greek form of the name, Antyllus, by which the Greek writers always designate him; the second, Julus Antonius, had been kept at Rome and educated by Octavia, who obtained his life from her brother, and afterwards his marriage with her daughter by her first husband, Marcella. He became prætor A.U. 741, and was eventually put to death, or induced to kill himself, in consequence of an intrigue with the daughter of Octavius. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 44.; Dion, lv. 10.

[2] Plut. *Anton.* 81.: *οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκαισαρίη*, for *πολυκοιρανίη*.

[3] Orosius, vi. 19.: "Quod obscœnissimè lanificio textrinoque reginæ senator pop. Rom. præesse non erubuerat."

that he now also commanded the execution of Canidius; and from the statement of Velleius, that the sufferer met the blow with less fortitude than might have been expected from his professions, it may be conjectured that he had given personal offence to Octavius by a tone of arrogant defiance.[1]

From this time Octavius becomes remarkable for his clemency.

Triumphant in victory and secure in power Octavius now wiped his blood-stained sword, and thrust it into the scabbard. The dominion of the world demanded no other victims. Far wider was the vengeance which might have been apprehended from a partner in the proscriptions, who had displayed as yet no sense of the policy of mercy. But the conqueror suddenly refrained his hand, and filled the world with wonder at a moderation which it could not comprehend. The official seal which he used bore the impress of the sphinx, and such an emblem the Romans might deem appropriate to a man whose character they regarded as one of the greatest enigmas of history. Four hundred years later, indeed, an imperial satirist ventured to compare the founder of the empire to the cameleon, which perplexes the spectator by the ever-shifting variety of its hues.[2] The simile has been much admired, and does perhaps truly represent the notion of Octavius current among his countrymen; but in fact it would be difficult perhaps to find one less appropriate. In the conspicuous clemency of Cæsar the Romans had seen only the natural kind-

[1] Oros. *l. c.*; Vell. ii. 87.: "Timidius decessit quàm professioni quâ semper usus erat congruebat." This last writer declares that Octavius put none of his adversaries to death, and boasts that Decimus, Sextus, Brutus, and Cassius were slain either by his rival or by their own hands. He seems to insinuate that this was the case with Canidius also and Cassius Parmensis.

[2] Julian. Imp. *Cæsares*: *Ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν Καισάρων συνεκροτεῖτο συμπόσιον. . . . . . . Ὀκταβιανὸς ἐπεισέρχεται, πολλὰ ἀμείβων ὥσπερ οἱ χαμαιλέοντες χρώματα, καὶ νῦν μὲν ὠχριῶν, αὖθις δὲ ἐρυθρὸς γενόμενος, εἶτα μέλας καὶ ζοφώδης καὶ συννεφὴς, ἀνίετο δὲ αὖθις εἰς Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Χαρίτας.*

liness of his disposition; and so in the cruelty of the young Octavius they read nothing but an inherent ferocity of temper. They could not understand the austere and passionless ambition of one who could be cruel for the preservation of his life and advancement of his fortunes, and no less merciful for the maintenance of his fame. But neither in his temper nor his acts did Octavius shift capriciously to and fro: during the early part of his career his sternness never relaxed into pity, nor, during the long period which followed, did he swerve, except once or twice in a moment of passion, from the systematic mildness he prescribed to his policy. Rome, indeed, would have been content to purchase the long peace which was now promised her at a greater expenditure of life. She was deeply impressed with a sense of the danger she had escaped. The crafty policy which had painted the war of Actium as an attack on her national existence had been completely successful. The tone of the public manifestos was eagerly adopted by the citizens of every class. The literature of the day reflected in all its branches the general sentiment of horror at the peril which threatened for a moment their laws and their religion. Cleopătra it denounced as a lascivious queen, an insolent woman, a vile foreigner: she was the favourite of the demons of the Nile, of the bull Apis, and the hound Anubis.[1] Shame and disgust filled every breast, and the Romans could represent their fear of national humiliation as a pious concern for the dignity of Mars and Quirinus. Nevertheless, so ably was the current of popular indignation directed, that a peculiar delicacy was still observed in branding the

The popular sentiment directed against Cleopatra, spares the character of Antonius.

[1] Compare Virgil: "Nefas Ægyptia conjux;" Horace: "Fatale monstrum;" Propertius: "Det fœmina pœnas; Quantus mulier foret una triumphus; Ausa Jovi nostro latrantem opponere Anubim," &c.; Lucan: "An mundum ne nostra quidem matrona teneret; Dedecus Ægypti, Latio feralis Erinnys, Romano non casta malo."

treachery of the renegade Antonius. The influence of Octavia, who loved his child Julus, and destined him in marriage for her own daughter, may have coloured the policy of the government and through it the sentiments of the people. It was decreed, indeed, that in another generation the blood of the Antonian house should mingle with the Julian, and the claims of the rivals of the civil wars be united in the person of an imperial scion. But this dispensation was still in the womb of time; Virgil, Horace and Propertius could neither have foreseen nor guessed it; and the decent respect they and other writers of the day maintain for the character of Antonius seems to indicate the desire of Octavius himself, who did not choose that his own glory should be diminished by any disparagement of the fame of his worsted adversary. Such a sacrifice may seem obvious and easy; but few conquerors have had the magnanimity to make it.

Antonius eminently a mixed character.

The character of Antonius himself is one of the most mixed in history. While a Pompeius and a Cæsar have been made the subjects of eulogy and of disparagement equally indiscriminate, according to the political or personal leanings of their critics, the discrepancy in the judgments passed upon Antonius is chiefly due to the capriciousness which marked his conduct, and the opposite virtues and vices which were blended together in one of the least artificial characters of antiquity. Antonius despised hypocritical pretences. With many generous and lofty qualities, he had been brought up in a school of more than military frankness, among the free-thinkers of Cæsar's court and camp, the men who with the same absence of principle as their master, wanted that natural justness and harmony of character which in him could educe dignity and consistency out of the chaos of passion. While the rival who dogged his career and at last

supplanted him was darkly feeling his way among the mazes of intrigue and dissimulation, Antonius displayed himself openly to the world: he trusted in his acknowledged merits, his services to his patron, his military renown, his numerous personal friendships[1]; and he disdained to sacrifice to fame or safety the enjoyments, coarse and selfish as they were, which fortune and his own genius had placed within his reach. He had little of the literary polish so widely diffused among his equals in station, having been summoned to active life at an early age, and never released from its absorbing interests till the blandishments of pleasure had established their empire over him. His taste for gaudy show and personal ostentation was that of a rude soldier, rather than the chief of a highly civilized community. The vices with which he has been charged, and for which his name has become a byword, are the most susceptible of dark and extravagant colouring, and at the same time most patent to common observation. It was his misfortune to have for his bitterest enemy one whose estimate of men was most superficial, and the licence of whose tongue most unscrupulous. Cicero exerted all the force of his genius to make Antonius despicable; but the glaring colours with which he charged his Philippics are more startling to the eye of a remote posterity than they were to the clearer vision of his own contemporaries. The lightnings of Cicero's rhetoric glanced harmless from the laurels on the brow of Antonius, which were nipped by the chilling depreciation of the more astute Octavius.

The loves of "Antony and Cleopatra."

The loves of *Antony and Cleopatra* form a familiar page in the romance of history. But a sober analysis of such famous ro-

[1] Drumann has given a list of the associates whose intimacy with Antonius is recorded in the Philippics of Cicero: the number of the group seems to vouch at least for the personal popularity of the central figure.

mances has generally revealed a dark shade of unruly passion on one side, and of vanity and self-interest on the other. Antonius was the dupe of his own wanton will. The object of his devotion was incapable of exciting any genuine sentiment of tenderness: she was the public slave of any man's passion whose political interest she required.[1] If ever her lover flattered himself that he had found the way to her heart, he knew that her heart was not worth the possession. But the man who could so far corrupt his own inclinations as to turn from the embraces of an Octavia, beautiful, virtuous, and his own, to dally with the false enticements of a blood-stained adulteress, could have no just appreciation of the woman's charms which Cleopatra had renounced for ever. The queen of Egypt had indeed a hard game to play; it was a game for a man, and not for a woman. We may forgive her the loss of her innocence, but we cannot disregard the surrender of all sentiment and delicacy; and if she claims the indulgence extended sometimes to licentiousness in the other sex, she must forfeit at least the privilege of her own, and her interest in our sympathies as men. As a woman she deserves neither love nor admiration; but as a queen her ambition was bold and her bearing magnanimous: she contended gallantly for the throne of her ancestors with the weapons which nature had given her. Her noblest epitaph is written, not in the language of amatory rhapsodies or sickly compassion, but in the ferocious sarcasms of her exulting conquerors.[2]

[1] Lucan, x. 359.: "Interque maritos Discurrens, Ægypton habet Romamque meretur."

[2] Comp. Horace, *Od.* i. 7. on her overthrow:

> "Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
> Pulsanda tellus," &c.

But the same writer who sneers at the effeminacy of her habits and the frivolousness of her vanity, does justice to her manly courage, her philosophic fortitude, and her kingly pride.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Octavius reduces Egypt to the form of a province.—He confirms Herod in the sovereignty of Judea.—Dispersion of the Jews in Europe, Asia, and Africa.—Causes of the dispersion, the narrowness of their territory, and its impoverishment by successive conquerors.—Antiochus Epiphanes attempts to Hellenize the Jews.—Progress of Greek ideas and language in Palestine.—Jealousy of the natives.—The Pharisees and Sadducees represent the national and foreign parties respectively. —The Asmonean princes side with the latter.—Interference of Rome with Jewish affairs.—Antipater the Idumean and his sons govern the country.—Antonius grants the kingdom to Herod.—He obtains the favour of Octavius. —His persecution of the Asmonean princes.—Death of Mariamne. —Herod's devotion to Rome.

Policy of the republic in allowing the existence of petty sovereignties in the heart of her Eastern dominions.

THE policy of Rome in the East had followed hitherto the lines marked out for it by Cnæus Pompeius. The conqueror of Mithridates had abstained from incorporating with the empire the vast and diversified territories reduced to submission by his sword. He had been content with breaking them up into petty dependencies, assigning to them rulers of his own choice, schooled in obedience to his will; and by transferring them from one to another, he had inured both kings and people to look to the Roman people as the king of kings. Cilicia indeed and Syria were reduced to the form of provinces; but even within their nominal frontiers several petty sovereignties were allowed to exist, and the laws and institutions of Rome were only partially applied to her Oriental acquisitions. The forms of society in the East were for the most part so complete and mature, and differed so entirely from the Roman, that to supersede them violently would have been a hazardous experiment. The Orientals were moreover pecu-

liarly tenacious of their own habits, and showed no inclination, like the half-civilized tribes of western Europe, to exchange them for those of their conquerors. Nor did the existing state of society in the East cherish the sentiments of freedom of which the Roman oppressor was so jealous in Gaul or Spain: the courts of the Herods and the Ptolemies were schools for the practice of obedience, and for imbibing lessons of self-abasement. Nor again on the Nile or the Euphrates was there any Roman element in the population through which the tone of Roman sentiment and opinion might gradually be insinuated. Perhaps also the treasures and resources of the nations of Asia might be deemed too attractive to be placed within reach of grasping officials; the republic shrank from the danger of leaving such rich harvests to be gathered year by year by commanders too daring to overawe and too distant to control. The wealth of the East was allowed to accumulate in the coffers of dependent princes, till the moment came when Rome should summon them to disgorge it.

The Ptolemies permitted to reign in Egypt.

Such were the principles upon which the republic had long acted in regard to the feeble dynasty which she allowed to retain its seat on the throne of the Ptolemies. Pompeius, Gabinius, and Cæsar had successively given kings to Egypt, when either of them might have incorporated it with the domain of the Roman people. But the statesmen of the Macedonian court had long anticipated the day when even the shadow of independence would be denied them. Many and desperate had been the efforts they had made to frustrate the policy which was slowly and secretly weaving its meshes to entangle them. This conviction that Rome was only seeking an excuse for closer interference with their affairs had urged them to advise the destruction of Pompeius, in whose landing on their shores after Pharsalia they beheld a clear omen of their approach-

ing fate. We have seen that the bloody precaution was vain. The dissensions of the royal house offered an occasion for interference, and the conqueror, pressed by the clamours of a needy soldiery, plunged into a career of violence and spoliation, which bred a fruitless resistance on the part of the Egyptians, and would have ended in their immediate subjugation, but for the peculiar influence which Cleopatra acquired over him. The queen was aware how precarious was the power which she owed to the sword of a foreign intruder. Her treasures, her armies, and her person were devoted to the task of fortifying her position. Her genius and charms conspired to bind to her service the Roman potentate who seemed most capable of protecting her; and intoxicated with the unexpected fortune she had attained, she allowed herself to indulge in a dream of aggression and vengeance against the power which had so long overshadowed her dominions. But the dove or the hare, the helpless quarry of the falcon or the hunter, were fit emblems of a queen of Egypt relentlessly pursued by the Roman imperators.[1] When he set his foot on the shore of Africa, Octavius had resolved to extinguish the dynasty of the Ptolemies. But he had no intention of giving to the senate the rich domain which he tore from its native rulers. He would not sow in a foreign soil the seeds of independence, which he was intent upon crushing nearer home. Egypt with the sea in its front, and a desert on either hand, was difficult of access to the Roman armies; its overflowing stores of grain might give it the command of the Italian markets, and its accumulated treasures might buy the swords of mercenary legions. Octavius made it his own. He appointed a favourite

Octavius reduces it to the form of a province under his own direct control.

[1] Horace, *Od.* i. 37.:

"Accipiter velut
Molles columbas aut leporem citus
Venator," &c.

officer, Cornelius Gallus, whose humble rank as a knight, as well as his tried services, seemed to insure his fidelity, to govern it. In due time he persuaded the senate and people to establish it as a principle, that Egypt should never be placed under the administration of any man of superior rank to the equestrian, and that no senator should be allowed even to visit it, without express permission from the supreme authority. For the defence of this cherished province Octavius allotted three legions, besides some squadrons of cavalry, and a body of nine cohorts of pure Roman extraction. One legion was quartered in Alexandria, the inhabitants of which, though turbulent, were incapable of steady resistance; a division of three cohorts garrisoned Syene on the Nubian frontier, and others were stationed in various localities. Under the military commander was a revenue officer, whose accounts were delivered to Octavius himself, by whom he was directly appointed. Auletes, the father of Cleopatra, had received a revenue of twelve thousand five hundred talents [1]; but his government was ill-administered, he was cheated and plundered by his own servants; a more vigilant and careful system discovered resources hitherto unexplored, and the returns of the Roman officials rose steadily with the growth of commerce, which increased equally perhaps with both the East and the West. This development of the resources of Egypt was favoured by the peculiar good fortune it enjoyed, in being jealously guarded from the extortions of a staff of Roman officials. The administration of law, police, and other internal affairs was confided to the natives themselves, and their old habits and prejudices were studiously consulted in maintaining the details of the system which existed under the Macedonian kings. At the same time the Alexandrians were denied the universal privilege of the provincial cities,

[1] Strabo, xvii. 1.

that of having a senate of their own, nor for two centuries was any Egyptian admitted into the senatorial order at Rome.[1]

He settles the affairs of Parthia and Judea.

The new ruler did not refrain however from expressing his contempt for the character of his predecessors. He visited the tomb of Alexander with the interest which a man equally great, and revolving schemes of empire not less magnificent, could not fail to entertain[2]: but when he was invited to inspect the remains of the Ptolemies, he replied disdainfully, *I came to see a king, not dead men.*[3] Before leaving Egypt he laid the foundations of a city on the spot where he had worsted his enemy's forces on the sea-coast, about three miles from the eastern gate of Alexandria. The Egyptian Nicopolis became a useful port, and place of embarkation from the capital. From thence he proceeded before the close of the year to make a triumphal progress through Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor. He passed rapidly in review the states and provinces which lay in the line of his route. He listened with proud reserve to the solicitations of the rival claimants for the Parthian throne. The victors of Carrhæ were induced to seek the settlement of their intestine feuds at the hands of the Roman imperator. A chieftain of the royal race named Tiridates had availed himself of the hatred in which Phraates was held by his subjects to overthrow his power; but he had been himself overthrown in turn, and now sought the support of the national foe. Phraates strove to supplant him in the favour of Octavius, and the Roman, after gravely

[1] Dion, li. 17.

[2] A saying attributed by Plutarch to Octavius (*Reg. et Imp. Apophth.*) indicates that the Romans had already instituted this comparison: *'Ακούσας δὲ ὅτε 'Αλέξανδρος δύο καὶ τριάκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη κατεστραμμένος τὰ πλεῖστα διηπόρει, τί ποιήσει τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον, ἐθαύμαζεν εἰ μὴ μεῖζον 'Αλέξανδρος ἔργον ἡγεῖτο τοῦ κτήσασθαι μεγάλην ἡγεμονίαν τὸ διατάξαι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν.*

[3] Dion, li. 16. The historian adds that the conqueror refused to visit the bull Apis, saying, *θεοὺς, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ βοῦς προσκυνεῖν εἰθίσθαι.*

weighing the representations of both parties, declined to interfere, contenting himself with granting to the fugitive an asylum in the territories of the republic, and carrying to Rome his rival's son as an hostage.[1] Among the potentates who were most anxious to win the conqueror's regards during this rapid journey was the chief whom Antonius had established on the throne of Judea. The national historian of the Jews does not scruple to affirm that, after the battle of Actium, their sovereign, the great Herodes, the friend and ally of the beaten triumvir, inspired the victor with more apprehension than his flying rival himself.[2] But Herod the Idumean, who owed his sudden elevation to the throne of the Asmonean princes to the favour of the Roman government, was well aware that a breath from the same mighty power would suffice to overthrow him. He justly feared the consequences of his intimate connexion with the defeated party: but he was attached to Antonius by no other ties than those of interest, and at the first news of his disaster in the Ionian gulf, hastened to abandon his cause, while it might yet be counted meritorious to do so, and ventured to throw himself without reserve on the clemency of the victor, whom he sought at Rhodes on his way to Egypt. He recommended himself to Octavius by the zeal of his recent devotion to Antonius, while he pledged himself to prove not less faithful to the new patron to whom he offered to transfer his services. The conqueror was satisfied with these professions. He knew the abilities of the king of Judea, and he was assured that he could depend upon him as long at least as his fortunes were in the ascendant. He confirmed him in the possession

[1] Dion, li. 18. Justin, xlii. 5., says that the youth was restored; he is speaking perhaps of a later transaction between Augustus and the Parthian monarch. Comp. Dion, liii. 33.

[2] Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* i. 20.: *Παρεῖχε μέν τοι δέους πλέον ἢ ἔπασχεν οὔπω γὰρ ἑαλωκέναι Καῖσαρ Ἀντώνιον ἔκρινεν, Ἡρώδου συμμένοντος.*

of the territories guaranteed him by his rival; and he marked his regard, upon the occasion of his journey through Palestine, by adding to them Gadara and Samaria on the north and the districts of Gaza and Joppa on the sea-coast.[1] But the relations of Judea towards the all-conquering republic require to be more fully explained. In Judea arose that extraordinary development of political enthusiasm which at a later period shook the empire to its centre at the moment of its greatest magnificence and power: and in the streets of Jerusalem and among the villages of Galilee were sowed the seeds of a moral revolution, which undermined in their appointed time the foundations of ancient society, and established Christianity upon the ruins of the common heathenism. Rome threw off the assailant from without, with a violent effort the most signal in her military annals, since she first struggled for existence against the Gauls and Carthaginians: but the enemy within, the religious principle which invaded her laws, institutions and ideas, she could neither overcome, nor foil, nor fly from, and three centuries of feverish resistance terminated in the dissolution of her own moral being.

Character of the Jewish residents in foreign lands.

Where the Roman conquers there he inhabits, was the proud boast of the people whose mission it was to reduce the world to political unity. Where the Greek inhabits there he civilizes, might be said of the great masters of human intelligence, whose commerce penetrated every sea, and whose colonists carried to the East and the West the standards of poetry, philosophy and science. But the Jew, with a spirit no less restless, with propensities no less migratory, neither conquered, nor colonized, nor civilized. He intruded himself silently and pertinaciously into every known corner of the globe; and no one could say wherefore he came, or

[1] Joseph. *l. c.*: *Οὐδὲν δὲ οὕτως ἐνῆγεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὰς δωρέας ὡς τὸ μεγαλόφρον τοῦ λαμβάνοντος.*

what was the object of his sojourn. His presence in foreign lands was marked by no peculiar aim or mission. He cultivated neither literature, nor art, nor even commerce on a great scale, or as a national pursuit. He subsisted for the most part by the exercise of active industry in petty dealings, evaded as much as he could the public burdens of the natives among whom he dwelt, while their privileges he neither sought nor coveted, and distinguished himself alike in every quarter, under every form of government, and in the midst of every social system, by rigid adherence to the forms of an obscure and exclusive creed.

Dispersion of the Jews. Their settlement in Rome.

The Jews had entered the great city of the West along with the Phrygians, Syrians and Egyptians, and other wanderers from the opposite hemisphere; but they were hardly observed perhaps, or recognised as a distinct people by the multitude, until their chiefs, Aristobulus II. and his children, were dragged among a troop of their captive subjects in the third triumph of Pompeius. The vanity of the great conqueror, who affected to tread in the steps of the Macedonian Alexander, had led him to violate the ancient policy of the republic, which had studiously cultivated the alliance of the Jewish commonwealth as a counterpoise to the power of the Seleucids and Ptolemies. When the throne of the Syrian was stricken to the ground, and that of the Egyptian only sustained by the hand of a Roman imperator, the maxims of the state might be allowed to yield to personal ambition, and Pompeius trampled with lofty contempt on the dearest prejudices of his countrymen's allies. Cæsar undertook to soothe the wounded pride of a sensitive people. He had himself received important succour from them at the crisis of his fortunes in Alexandria. Gratitude and policy combined to make him their friend. He requited their services with ample as-

surances of his favour; and on his return to Rome he allowed their compatriots to celebrate their national rites in a synagogue of their own, on the banks of the Tiber.[1] We have seen that the little society which this people formed at Rome combined to make a public manifestation of regard for their benefactor on the occasion of his funeral. In the capital of the republic we may imagine that their numbers were at this time insignificant. But as they cast their eyes eastward the Roman statesmen might behold with curiosity and interest the increasing throng of strangers of this same nation, who maintained their own peculiar usages and worship and moral physiognomy throughout the continent and islands of Greece. As they extended their view beyond the boundaries of Europe, this infusion of the Jewish element among the native populations became still more strongly marked. Lydia and Phrygia had received a draft of two thousand families, transplanted thither from Judea by Antiochus the Great. The Jews spread in successive migrations over all the countries of Lesser Asia, and Ephesus, Pergamus, Tralles and Sardis became celebrated for the resort of wanderers from Palestine.[2] Before the date of Cicero's consulship their numbers had become so great in the Roman province of Asia, that it was esteemed a good service to the state on the part of the prætor Flaccus, when he forbade them to drain the country of gold by sending their annual contribution, amounting only to a double drachma each, to the temple at Jerusalem.[3] At the same time we hear of a multitude of Jews being settled in the eastern islands of the Mediterranean, and their well-known industry was employed at a later period

In Greece.

In Asia Minor.

[1] Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 3. 5.; Philo, *Legat. ad Cai.* ii. 568. ed. Mangey.

[2] Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 10.

[3] Cic. *pro Flacco*, 28.

by Octavius, in working the mines of copper in Cyprus. They soon formed an important part of the population of its chief city Salamis, and still later we shall find them take possession of the whole island, and convert it into a magazine and armoury for the organization of a great national revolt. Great multitudes of Jews were settled in Syria and Phœnicia by Seleucus Nicator, and Antioch became famous for their resort.[1] To the east of Syria and Palestine the dispersion of the Jews was still greater than to the west. The ten tribes which had been transported beyond the Euphrates had never returned to the abodes of their ancestors. The permission which Cyrus gave to the remnant of the Babylonish captivity to repair to Judea and restore their national polity was accepted by only a small proportion of the whole people.

In Babylonia and farther east.

The city of their conquerors had become endeared to them by the recollections of two generations; and, after the fall of Babylon, and the dissolution of the fleeting population which the Assyrian kings had collected within its walls, the Jews, if we may believe their own writers, took the place of the native races throughout the surrounding districts.[2] As we proceed further the records of the Jewish dispersion become doubtless less distinct; but the ceaseless pulse of emigration beat, we are assured, more and more faintly, through Adiabene and Armenia, to the Caucasus and the Caspian shore, and was not yet exhausted even on the borders of China.

In Egypt, Cyrene, and Ethiopia.

The Jews, we have already seen, were reputed to form a third part of the population of Alexandria, and this proportion they maintained throughout the whole

[1] Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 5. 1., *Bell. Jud.* vii. 3. 3.

[2] Philo (*de Legat. ad Caium*, ii. 587. ed. Mangey) specifies the vast extent of the Jewish colonies throughout the three continents. Comp. Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 13. 1.

of Egypt. Their first settlement in this region had followed upon their revolt against the Chaldean domination, and the murder of their governor Gedaliah.[1] The number of the fugitives of that epoch was increased by a second plantation under Artaxerxes Ochus; and Alexander, on founding his new city, invited to its walls a race which was esteemed generally peaceable as well as industrious. The Thebaid was enriched with a colony of eight thousand Samaritans after the destruction of Tyre. The conquest of Palestine by the kings of Syria and Egypt renewed periodically these importations of Jewish blood.[2] The immigrants gradually spread themselves to the westward, to Cyrene and the Pentapolis, as well as southward into Ethiopia.[3] The knowledge of the name and usages of the Jews was still further extended by religious proselytism. We have little means indeed of tracing the progress which they made in this way among the Roman and Greek populations; though it seems probable that the mystery which surrounded their august ceremonial excited curiosity, ripening into interest, and resulting at least in a partial reception of their usages and creed in many societies in the West. But in Damascus we are assured, as regarded at least a later period, that the religion of Moses made a vast number of proselytes, and that almost all the women attached themselves to it.[4] Meanwhile on the petty tribes on their own borders the Jews imposed the yoke of their ceremonial law by force. Hyrcanus subdued the Idumeans, and gave them the choice of exile or circumcision. The same alternative was offered to the Itureans, and perhaps to the Moabites also. In each case the

They make proselytes among various nations.

[1] 2 Kings, xxv. 23. [2] Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 1.
[3] *Act. Apost.* ii. 10., viii. 26.
[4] Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 20. 2. Comp. Acts, xiii. 50.

love of country prevailed. The Homerite Arabians were subjected to the rule of a Jewish sovereign, who compelled his people to accept the faith and usages of his own nation.

They form a national confederacy throughout the three continents.

We have thus glanced at the ramifications of this populous nation through a large portion of the three continents of the ancient world. The Jews made themselves homes in every country from the Tiber to the Euphrates, from the pines of the Caucasus to the spice-groves of Happy Arabia, and the political confederacy by which they continued to be closely linked together supported the throne of Parthia on the one hand, and of Egypt on the other. Whatever motive had induced each successive swarm to abandon the parent hive, whether it had been impelled by a spirit of enterprise, or by the pressure of want, whether it had been sold in captivity, or transplanted at the caprice of a conqueror, it still clung pertinaciously to the outward symbols of its nationality. The annual tribute to the temple at Jerusalem was a faint expression of this characteristic feeling. The exclusive claims the Jews advanced to the possession of divine truth, and the strictness of their terms of communion, had already become the object of wondering remark. Yet at the period we are now reviewing they had drawn upon themselves far less dislike and suspicion, on account of the morose reserve of their character, than after they had been exasperated by political persecutions, and inflamed by religious fanaticism. They solicited the attention of the foreigners among whom they dwelt to the literature enshrined in their sacred books, nor did they disdain to admit a tincture of exotic cultivation, and allowed in many quarters even their own language to fall into disuse among them. While they attracted to their own mysterious rites the votaries of every heathen superstition, they imbibed

perhaps themselves some of the same spirit of eclecticism in religion, to which they had invited the worshippers of Belus, Isis, and Jupiter.

The narrowness of their limits the main cause of their dispersion

Among the manifold causes which contributed to stimulate foreign emigration among the Jewish people, there was none so potent perhaps as there was none so uniform, as the narrowness of their proper limits, and the natural sterility of a large portion of their soil. The dispersion of the Greeks presents on the whole the most striking parallel to that of the Jews; and upon the former people also, whatever allowance be made for their ambition, their love of adventure and their natural propensity to commerce, this motive operated with constant pressure during the ages which succeeded the loss of their political independence. Greece in the most flourishing period of her freedom had expanded the wings of her commerce on every side, and the wealth which she attracted to her shores raised lofty cities and maintained populous communities, in spots which nature had abandoned to the mountain or the swamp. But with the fall of her independence her spirit of enterprise had been exhausted; commerce decayed, the arts languished, the means of subsistence ceased to flow in from abroad: her monuments, indeed, and her fame, still attracted strangers to her shores, and the liberal expenditure of foreigners became perhaps the principal support of the crumbling populations of Athens and Corinth. The surplus of her offspring, beyond what her own narrow plains and valleys could nourish, was driven by stern necessity abroad. For a time the pressure was disguised under the appearance of a voluntary emigration to reap the fruits of Macedonian conquest: but the truth became at last apparent, that Greece, except under some extraordinary stimulus, is capable of subsisting only a very limited number of inhabitants, and the excess must emigrate or starve.

Parallel between Greek and Jewish emigration.

There is sufficient evidence to the fact that Palestine also, a country abounding in mountains and barren plains, was enabled in a remote age, under a wise and prosperous administration, to crown its rocks with mould, and cover its sands with verdure, till every corner of the narrow land was devoted to the raising of food for man, and a wide-spread commerce on either sea supplied the requirements of an immense population. She had been reduced from this palmy state by intestine divisions and domestic oppression. She next became the prey of foreign conquerors, and her children, already impoverished and diminished in number, were carried off into distant captivity. Their ultimate restoration to their own country had not sufficed to repair the decay of this state of transient fertility. Successive attacks from Syria and Egypt kept Palestine in a constant state of weakness and poverty; the population outgrew the scanty means of subsistence offered by an ungrateful soil, and the resource of emigration was accepted by one perhaps from choice but by ten times that number from necessity.

Impoverishment of Palestine by its successive conquerors.

But though Palestine had long ceased to derive any great political importance from the numbers, the enterprise, or the military spirit of its actual inhabitants, it continued to demand attention from the statesman, partly as the national centre of a population so widely spread, and not less from the peculiar position which it occupied geographically. Palestine appears on the map of Asia as a prolongation of the region designated as Syria and Phœnicia. The whole of this long but narrow slip of territory skirts the waves of the Mediterranean on the one side, and the ocean-like expanse of the Arabian desert on the other. It extends four hundred miles in length, while its breadth, which is nearly uniform, is hardly more than sixty. This narrow tract of land, between seas and sands, is the

Peculiarity of its geographical position.

isthmus which connects Egypt and Arabia on the south with the Lesser Asia, Armenia and Parthia on the north. It has formed in all ages the great line of communication, whether for purposes of commerce or of conquest, between the two continents of Asia and Africa. By this road Alexander descended from the fields of his Oriental victories to found the noblest monument of his triumphs at the mouth of the Nile; and Palestine was the lock on the gate of Egypt which Pompeius opened to the Romans with his sword. Important as this region is from its position, it so happens that its configuration renders it peculiarly accessible to military enterprise. Narrow as it is, a system of valleys, through which are poured the waters of the Orontes, the Leontes, and the Jordan, divides it in the middle with a straight line through its whole length. The high road which traversed this easy and fertile level conducted from Antioch to Heliopolis, Cæsarea Philippi, Tiberias, and Jericho: from this point it struck more to the west, to avoid the wilderness of Judah and the arid shores of the Dead Sea, and crossed the plateau of Jerusalem and Hebron, till it reached Gaza on the coast of the Mediterranean, or turned again more eastward and passed through Idumea into Arabia. Another parallel line of communication skirted the sea-coast and met with no local obstruction, at least from the promontory of Carmel to mount Casius on the frontier of Egypt. Between these two lines the country rises to a considerable elevation, on the western side in three or four level terraces, abounding in the productions of as many different climates; on the eastern more abruptly and irregularly, and with a large proportion of barren rock and sand. Thus critically situated between the frontiers of the great competitors for Oriental dominion, the Jews had been exposed from the earliest times to the hardships

Accessible to invaders from its configuration.

Easy lines of communication through its whole length.

Antiochus Epiphanes attempts to Hellenize the Jews.

of foreign invasion. The Assyrians, the Egyptians and the Greeks had successively attacked them. They had followed the fate of Syria in the partition of Alexander's empire, and had become reconciled to their subjection to the sceptre of the Seleucidæ, till the fourth Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, made a violent attempt to impose upon them the religion of Greece. Inspired with fierce enthusiasm at the blow which struck down the impious Heliodorus in his attempt to rifle their temple, they flew to arms to repel the aggression upon their faith.[1] The king of Syria had plunged into a desperate struggle with Rome, and he sought to strengthen himself by animating with a religious principle the coalition of the Asiatic Greeks over which he presided. He aimed at making himself the centre of this fanatical resistance, and while he impressed on one side of his coins the firure of the Olympian Jupiter, he appended to his own name the stamp of divinity on the other. The Greeks, whose religious faith was utterly worn out, were little offended perhaps at this daring assumption, with which some previous examples had rendered them familiar; they were contented at least with levelling a languid sneer against it, and converted the surname of Epiphanes, the illustrious, into Epimanes, the infatuated. But the tyrant miscalculated the extent to which the influence of Greece had as yet infected the Jewish mind. Even in Jerusalem there existed indeed a Hellenizing party among the Jews, which aimed at throwing down the wall of partition between Jew and Gentile. The Grecian government had favoured this party, and promoted its adherents. Jesus, the brother of the high priest Onias, was the leader of the *wicked men*, as the national chronicle designated them, *who persuaded many, saying, Let us go and make a covenant with*

[1] 2 Maccab. iii. 7. foll.

the heathen that are round about us.[1] He assumed the Greek name Jason, which corresponded nearly, both in sound and signification, with his Hebrew appellation, while Onias affected the designation of Menelaus. They erected in the capital of Judea a gymnasium, for the propagation of Hellenistic taste, while the Samaritans even offered, it is said, to convert their temple on Mount Gerizim to the service of the Grecian Jupiter.[2] Encouraged by the favour with which these innovations appeared to be received, Antiochus gave orders that the statue of Zeus Olympius should be erected in the temple of Jerusalem. He appointed that monthly festivals should be celebrated in honour of Bacchus, at which all the families of Judea were commanded to present themselves crowned with ivy. The national rites and ceremonies were abruptly suppressed, sacrifices were demanded to the pagan demons whose altars were planted at the corners of the streets, and the people were required to eat the meats forbidden by Moses. To this it must be added that the persecutor rifled the treasures of the temple; and as these treasures comprehended not only the offerings of the devout, but the hoarded savings of the industrious, he concentrated against himself the two ruling passions which have ever held divided empire in the breast of the Jew. Stung to frenzy by these tyrannical measures and the barbarity with which they were enforced, the mass of the nation flew to arms. Under a family of heroes, the Maccabees, or Asmonean princes, they defied the oppressor and recovered their independence. Both Greeks and Jews combined in declaring that his miserable death was a signal manifestation of divine retribution. The success of the national party among the Jews was assured by the treaty of alliance they now made with Rome; a treaty which

The Jews make a treaty with Rome, circa A. U. 684. B. C. 170.

[1] 1 Maccab. i. 11. [2] Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5.

they regarded as the safeguard of their independence, and preserved on tablets of brass in the temple of Jerusalem.[1]

The defenders of Jewish nationality had been driven during their long struggle from the frontiers and sea-coast into the mountainous districts in the centre of the country, while the Syrian invaders girdled their territory with a line of cities, which they garrisoned with Greek colonists. Some of these hostile fastnesses were destroyed by the Jews on the recovery of their independence; but they more generally permitted them to exist, while they constrained their inhabitants to adopt the religion and usages of the natives.[2] From this original stock the blood, the language, and the customs of Hellas were gradually transfused into the population of Palestine, which had vainly prided itself on the purity of its race, the reserve of its manners, and the exclusiveness of its creed. It will be well to pause for a moment to trace the silent progress of this phenomenon, which in fact may serve to illustrate, from a single point, the process which had been going on throughout Western Asia from the date of the Macedonian conquest, and which is important from the insight it gives us into the march of Hellenic ideas over extensive regions which were soon to become a part of the Roman empire.

Progress of the Hellenic element among the population of Palestine.

While the Roman almost universally adopted the walls and dwellings of the vanquished enemy and expelled the natives to make room for settlers of his own race, the Greek mode of colonization demanded generally the erection of new cities for Hellenic occupation in the conquered territory. In this the immigrants from Eastern Europe followed the policy or habits of Oriental conquerors, though their mode of building must have been much

Extent of Hellenic colonization in Palestine.

[1] 1 Maccab. viii.; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 10. 6.
[2] Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 4.

more substantial than that which contents a Tartar or Hindoo potentate, when he raises his capital of mud or wood to receive the transplanted population of the surrounding plains. Appian may furnish us with an idea of the scale on which this Hellenic system of colonization was adopted. He tells us that the founder of the dynasty of the Seleucidæ in Syria built a vast number of cities throughout his dominions[1]: of these he named sixteen Antiochia after his father, six Laodicea from his mother, nine from his own name Seleucia, four from those of his wives Apamea or Stratonicea. Besides these the historian gives a list of twenty-three other cities founded by the same hand, bearing the names of Greek or Macedonian towns, or referring to the exploits of the founder, or, lastly, commemorating his great master Alexander. When we consider how small was the handful of Macedonian soldiers by which Persia was conquered, it is evident that it was not for the settlement of these veterans only that so many cities were founded, but to supply the demands of a mighty immigration. The opening of the Eastern world to European enterprise attracted vast numbers of Greeks from their native country, and though these cities were perhaps partially filled from the surrounding regions, we may conclude that the original nucleus of the population throughout them was Greek. It was during the first two centuries from the conquest that the principal influx of Greeks into Asia must have taken place. Syria we may suppose was saturated with the Hellenic infusion by the time when the Jews rejected its yoke. Greece itself ceased to throw off its swarms when its own population had dwindled to the numbers adapted to its natural resources. Accordingly, at the time of which we are now speaking, the proportion of the native and the intruding races throughout the region of Syria was definitely fixed.

[1] Appian, *Syriac*, c. 57.

The influence exercised by the Greeks, as an element in the population, was already at its height: if the notices we can collect regarding it belong strictly to a later period, we shall not err much in assuming them to illustrate the circumstances of the earlier epoch.

General diffusion of the Greek language in Western Asia.

The influence of the Greek language seems to have far outstripped the encroachment of the Greek population in these regions. It almost superseded the native dialects even in cities which were not originally founded for Hellenic colonists. Thus we find that at Tyre, at Sidon, and at Ascalon, the Romans published their decrees in the Latin and the Greek idioms; in the Latin, in token of their own supremacy; in the Greek, as the language most generally understood by the conquered people.[1] Ascalon became famous for its Greek writers in philosophy, history, and grammar.[2] Gadara, a city of Greek foundation, is celebrated by Strabo for its contributions to Hellenic science.[3] A large proportion of the inscriptions discovered at Palmyra are said to be Greek, though the orthography of some is Syrian or Phœnician.[4] But the prevalence of the Greek language even at Jerusalem itself is marked by an interesting circumstance recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. On the occasion of a riot which was excited in that city through the jealousy which existed between the Oriental and the Greek Jews, St. Paul addressed the multitude; *when they heard that he spake in the Hebrew tongue they the more kept silence:* from which it appears that they would have listened to him and understood him even if he had spoken in Greek,[5] After this instance, we shall not

[1] Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 12. 5., xiv. 10. 2.: *βούλομαι δὲ καὶ Ἑλληνιστὶ καὶ Ῥωμαιστὶ ἐν δελτῷ χαλκῇ τοῦτο ἀνατεθῆναι . . . . ὅπως ὑπὸ πάντων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι δυνήσεται.*

[2] Stephanus, *de Urbibus*, v. Ἀσκάλων.

[3] Strabo, xvi. 2.

[4] Compare Hug, *Introd. to the N. Test.* ii. 36. Engl. Transl.

[5] Acts, xxii. 2.

be surprised to learn that even the religious authorities of Palestine offered no resistance to the diffusion of the Greek language, and that some of their books and legal documents were written indifferently in the Greek or the vernacular idiom.[1] It is probable that the fusion of the two races had proceeded to a considerable extent even while they affected to draw the strongest lines of demarkation between one another. The Greeks and Jews enjoyed an equality of civic privileges throughout most of the cities of Palestine. Disputes regarding the extent of these rights frequently arose between them, and appeals were made to the decision of the emperor at Rome. The judgment, founded on antiquity and original colonization, was sometimes given in favour of the foreigners. Emboldened by such awards, the Greek colonists in some localities ventured to affirm that they were the first inhabitants of the country. Scythopolis ascribed its foundation to Bacchus himself[2], and Joppa commemorated as a local tradition the adventure of Perseus and Andromeda.[3]

Influence of Greek civilisation upon Jewish ideas.

The progress of a foreign language and its corresponding ideas among a people so jealous and retentive of their own usages as the Jews, could not fail to excite alarm and indignation. It was associated in their minds with the remembrance of the Syrian oppressor who had imposed upon them the abominations of pagan idolatry. But among the educated classes, in the higher ranks of the aristocracy and in the court of their rulers themselves, the fascinations of Greek civilization exerted extensive influence. The revolution by which John Hyrcanus changed the popular championship of his family into a royal domination brought out in strong relief the colours of their social

[1] Hug, ii. 46., with reference to the Mischna.
[2] Plin. *H. N.* v. 16.
[3] Strabo, xvi. 2.

divisions. On the one hand the Pharisees, the separatists or the exclusives, as their name may import, clung with sullen tenacity to the ancient prescriptions of the national polity. Bred in a devout belief in the theocracy or divine government of their country, they beheld with affright the contrast between the corruptions and perils of society around them and the ideal of purity and security which existed in their own heated imaginations. They saw that the faith of the higher classes was crumbling away, sapped by the perpetual assaults of heathen superstition, damped by discouragement from an apostate government, sickening with the long delayed hope of a triumphant fulfilment. Without logical or moral convictions of their own, they determined in the strength of an indomitable will to maintain the creed of their ancestors, and sought only to entrench it behind a complicated system of forms and ceremonial observances, to which they vainly looked as so many bulwarks to break the force of the assailant's attack. They encumbered the simplicity of the Mosaic law with a mass of sophistical interpretations, derived in fact from sources not less alien and corrupt than the Greek theosophies which they combated. But thus equipped, they could await in proud defiance the time when the development of a new knowledge or a higher philosophy should vindicate, as they loudly proclaimed, the divine principle of revelation enshrined in the casket of human traditions. These are tactics which constantly reappear in the history of religious antagonisms. The peculiar secret, however, of the strength and popularity of the Pharisees lay probably in the boldness with which they affirmed the doctrine of a future life. They taught indeed the transmigration of souls through successive bodies; a crude and ready way of evading the difficulties which beset the more scientific attempts to form a

Antagonism of the Pharisees and the Sadducees.

theory of future retribution: but their views of futurity, such as they were, embraced every class alike, and they appealed to the fears and hopes of mankind in general, and repudiated the aristocracy of souls which satisfied the Greek philosophers. On the other hand, the reaction which resulted from this system gave rise to the sect of the Sadducees. These religionists asserted that the pure spirit of their national creed required no such shadowy defence as their opponents had raised around it. They appealed to the five Books of Moses as the pure fountain of their ancient faith. We need not conclude from this that they rejected the inspiration of other books of the Hebrew canon. The Pentateuch was the volume of the law; and the Sadducees upheld the text of the law as distinguished not from the historical and prophetical books which followed it, but from the traditionary glosses of the Pharisees and the foreign ideas they considered them to have naturalised.[1] But they explained away everything in the received Scriptures which might appear to modify in any degree the doctrines of Moses; they repudiated the notion of a future state, because they could not read it from Genesis to Deuteronomy; and they resolved the theory of angelic existences into peculiar manifestations of the Divine Being himself. It has been asserted by their apologists that their rejection of supersensuous theories went only to the denial of a resurrection of the body, such as was undoubtedly the belief of the Pharisee: but all existing testimony affirms that they rejected also the immortality of spirit.[2] In other points also their creed touched

[1] The common opinion, that the Sadducees rejected the prophetical books of the Old Testament, is founded upon the assertion of Tertullian, *de Præscr. Hæret.* 45., and St. Jerome, *ad Matth.* 22., but it seems to me to have been sufficiently refuted. See Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, art. *Saddukæer*.

[2] Salvador, *Domination Romaine en Judée*, i. 95. Compare Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 4., Σαδδουκαίοις τὰς ψυχὰς ὁ λόγος συναφανίζει τοῖς

upon the system of the Epicureans. They asserted the absolute freedom of the human will, derided the notion of fate, and regarded the Deity as standing apart from the concerns of the world in a state of selfish indifference. The Sadducees, like the Epicureans of the Hellenic world, belonged principally to the higher classes. They occupied important posts in the religious no less than in the social institutions of their country. But, notwithstanding the profession they made of a pure Jewish belief, a creed so negative on the most vital points could not fail to render them practically indifferent to the great religious questions of their day. The Pharisees, or, as we may call them, the national party, who preponderated in the great council of the Sanhedrim, and relied upon the support of the bulk of the people, denounced the sacrilegious attempt of John Hyrcanus to unite the sacerdotal with the regal office.[1] The crown of the priesthood they declared was the right of the sons of Aaron, the crown of royalty appertained to David and his successors, but the crown of the law, the supreme authority of the state, belonged to the whole people of Israel, represented in the national assembly of the Sanhedrim.[2] This bold interpretation of the ancient constitution of the Jews could find no favour with the Sadducees; and when the baffled usurper threw himself upon their support, he was received by them with open arms. The decision in his favour of this powerful section of the nation determined the result of the con-

The Pharisees constitute the popular party in Palestine.

John Hyrcanus connects himself with the Sadducees or the anti-national party.

σώματι; and *B. Jud.* ii. 8. 18. The other passages from Josephus are *Antiq.* xiii. 5, 9., xiii. 10. 6. It is unnecessary to refer to the well-known passages in the New Testament.

[1] The constitutional limits of the championship assigned to the Asmonean dynasty (1 Maccab. xiv. 47.) included a certain precedence or leadership in civil affairs combined with the high priesthood.

[2] Salvador (i. 91.) quotes from the Mischna, *de Synedriis*, i. 5.

test. The Asmonean princes mounted the throne of Israel, disgraced the chiefs of the Pharisees, abolished their religious ordinances and proscribed their teaching, while they sought to secure themselves against the popular indignation thus excited, by surrounding their palace with foreign mercenaries.[1] The party triumph of the Sadducees bound them in political servitude. They became the avowed supporters of the government: they undertook the defence of an anti-national, an Hellenistic, an idolatrous policy; while their opponents, released from the trammels of power, prided themselves on the sacrifice they had made to principle, clung yet more closely to their peculiar views, and engaged the admiration of the multitude by the austerity of their religious professions.

First interference of the Romans in Jewish affairs.

But an enemy more fatal than the Greek or the Syrian was at hand. The rivalries which sprang up within the family of the Asmonean princes led to an invitation to the Romans to take part in the national divisions. We have seen how Pompeius decided between the claims of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. In contempt of the wishes and prejudices of the people, he took the side of the former, by whose personal feebleness of character he could most readily profit; and while he assigned to him the nominal sovereignty together with the high priesthood, placed over him as minister the Idumean Antipater, an active and intriguing partisan of the Roman interests. Pompeius carried away Aristobulus and his sons, Alexander and Antigonus, to Rome, as hostages for the fidelity of this new government, which continued to be jealously watched by the proconsuls of Syria, and encouraged to crush the national spirit of its subjects and familiarize them gradually with the

Pompeius decides between the claims of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus.

[1] Aristobulus I., eldest son of John Hyrcanus, was the first to assume the title of king. Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 11. 1., *B. J.* i. 3. 1.

idea of complete subjugation. The Jews indeed bore the yoke of dependence with increasing impatience. Pompeius had outraged their religious prejudices by the desecration of their Temple; he had exasperated them by a series of sanguinary executions, and humiliated them by the demolition of the walls of Jerusalem. One after another Aristobulus and his sons made their escape from detention. We may be tempted to suspect connivance on the part of the Roman government, which could afford to buy an excuse for armed interference at the price of a revolt in Palestine. The intruders however were hardly prepared for the desperate resistance now organized against them by the exiled princes, who unfurled once more on their native soil the glorious banner of the Maccabees. Antipater armed himself to defend the throne of Hyrcanus and the influence he wielded in his name. He appealed to the proconsuls of Syria to support the interest of the republic in Palestine, while the insurgents addressed themselves to the ambition or jealousy of the Parthians, and strove, with the aid of their brethren dispersed throughout the East, to consolidate a vast Oriental confederacy against the European power which had already advanced its standards to the banks of the Euphrates. The struggle which now commenced was destined to continue with little intermission for nearly two hundred years. So long did it take to subdue Judea. The contest was animated, on the part of the Jews, by a deep religious spirit, and maintained with an unity of purpose and combined action unexampled in the history of foreign resistance to the all-conquering policy of Rome. It was nourished by feelings of the deadliest animosity on both sides: it was signalized by the most frightful examples of barbarity, in which each of the contending parties strove to outdo the other; but it was directed by a controlling Provi-

Resistance of the Jews to the Romans, and commencement of the long struggle between them.

dence to a beneficial consummation, in the destruction of the Jewish nationality, and the dispersion throughout the world of the Christian communities.

Scaurus, Gabinius, Crassus, and Cæsar, in Palestine.

The first period of this eventful struggle extended over twenty-nine years, during which Aristobulus and his sons contended gallantly for their rights against the intruders. Antipater was supported in his vicarious sovereignty by Scaurus, the lieutenant whom Pompeius had left behind him in Judea, and afterwards by M. Philippus and Lentulus Marcellinus, who succeeded one another in the government of Syria. The menacing attitude assumed by the Parthians on the frontier demanded the concentration of larger forces under a leader of the highest consideration. Gabinius was entrusted with the command of the armies of the republic in the East. He engaged the services of M. Antonius, whose military talents he was the first to unfold, and owed his most brilliant victories to the skill and conduct of the future triumvir. Crassus, who succeeded Gabinius, while meditating a career of unexampled conquest beyond the Euphrates, was tempted, as we have seen, to reach forth his hand and rifle the treasures of the Temple: such was the price at which the usurping government of Judea was constrained to buy the support of a Roman proconsul. The disaster of Carrhæ shook the throne of Hyrcanus; but the Parthians acted with indecision, Cassius was prompt and vigorous, and averted or repelled their invasions: Antipater was still enabled to uphold his ascendancy through many vicissitudes of victory and defeat. He sent a detachment of Ituræan bowmen to the camp of his patron Pompeius, who in return commanded the execution of Alexander; while Aristobulus himself was poisoned shortly afterwards, according to the report, by the partisans of the senatorial faction. But after Pharsalia Antipater speedily changed his side, and the zeal he displayed in sending

aid to Cæsar in Egypt, backed by the good offices of Antonius, secured him the favour and support of the new ruler of the republic. In vain did Antigonus, the surviving son of Aristobulus, implore the conqueror of Pompeius to reverse his rival's policy in Judea. Cæsar confirmed Hyrcanus in his high priesthood and titular sovereignty; but he placed the real power more firmly than ever in the hands of the Idumean, and honoured him with the distinction of Roman citizenship.

Ascendancy of the Herods, the family of Antipater, the Idumean

The ascendancy of the Idumean's family was henceforth fully assured. Antipater now acted with hardly a pretence of regard towards his nominal sovereign. He divided the territories subjected to his sway between his four sons, of whom the second, named Herodes, was destined to reunite the whole of Palestine under his sceptre at no distant period. The district which was assigned to him on this occasion was Galilee, and at the time of his investment with the government he was about twenty-five years of age. The historian of the Jews forgets his own chronology when he affirms that the age of Herod at this time was only fifteen, and admires the vigour with which he acted in such tender years in chastising the brigands on his borders. It is probable indeed that the persons whom he branded with this title were insurgent patriots rather than roving marauders. The wives and families of the victims boldly complained to Hyrcanus of the slaughter of their relatives; and while the exploit recommended the young chieftain to the Roman commander, Sextus Cæsar, it was execrated by the national party at Jerusalem, as an act of subservient tyranny. The advisers who now swayed the counsels of the feeble Hyrcanus urged him to make a desperate effort to shake off the yoke of the Idumean cabal, degrading alike to himself and to his people. Herod was summoned by his titular sovereign to

appear at Jerusalem, and explain before the Sanhedrim the circumstances of his recent act of violence. But he declined to place himself in so perilous a position until he had sought and obtained the safeguard of Roman protection, and when he presented himself before the council he held in his hand the proconsul's command that he should be acquitted. The passions, however, of the Jewish notables were worked up to defy this insolent dictation. Sameas or Shammai, *a just man*, in Jewish phraseology, that is, a strict observer of the law and upholder of its religious and political traditions, whose devotion to the cause of his country and his God placed him beyond the reach of Roman intimidation,[1] addressed them with the indignant eloquence so often directed by the national orators, and never without effect, against foreign aggression. *All the criminals*, he said, *who have hitherto been brought before us, have come clothed in mourning, in the attitude of supplication, in the guise of humility; but this man alone dares to stand in our presence arrayed in purple, his hair gallantly trimmed, and surrounded by armed soldiers, as though prepared to massacre us if we dare pronounce sentence against him.* And he ended with a solemn prediction that the culprit, if he now escaped condemnation, would live to shed the blood of all his judges and of Hyrcanus himself. All which, says the historian, took place as was predicted, Sameas himself alone escaping the vengeance which successively overtook them. The council would have acted resolutely on the orator's advice, but the timid monarch secretly warned the criminal of his danger. Herod burst away from the toils in which he was entangled, and threw himself at the feet of the Roman commander. He was favourably received by Sextus Cæsar, and

The national spirit is roused against them.

[1] Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 9. 4., *δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ δεδιέναι κρείττων.*

soon enabled to make a military demonstration against the seat of government. His father and family, fearful of the consequences of his meditated violence, with difficulty restrained him from an attack which would have raised the whole Jewish people in arms, and shaken to pieces the edifice of craft nd sophistry in which their power resided.

Cassius and Antonius in Syria.

The disturbances which ensued in Syria, and shortly afterwards throughout the Roman dominion in the East, allowed the Sanhedrim a short respite to congratulate themselves upon their successful patriotism, and to foster their means of future resistance. The Cæsareans and Pompeians once more drew their swords against each other within sight of the Parthian squadrons. Sextus Cæsar was murdered; Cæcilius Bassus commanded in the name of the senate, and held out with foreign assistance against the dictator's lieutenants. The dictator was assassinated: Cassius repaired to the province in which his military talents were most known and respected. Herod yielded complacently to this revolution in the government of Syria. When the new proconsul imposed a heavy tribute upon the Jews in common with the other nations under his rule, for the support of the vast armies which were to defend the cause of the republic, he exerted himself zealously to obtain its payment. Accordingly he was confirmed in the government of Cœle-Syria, which Sextus Cæsar had already assigned to him; and Cassius promised him the kingdom of Judea as soon as the arms of the republic should be crowned with victory. Soon after this Antipater perished by poison, and new intrigues were employed by the national party for expelling his family from Jerusalem. Antigonus ventured to invade the country, and advanced with an armed force his claims to the throne of his ancestors. The battle of Philippi threw Syria once

more into the power of the Cæsareans. Antonius entered Antioch, and took up the tangled and broken thread of his predecessor's policy. Herod hastened to make his submission, and soon entered into relations of personal intimacy with the frank and dissipated Roman, to whom his abilities, his manners, and his temper too easily recommended him.[1] Christendom, in its pictures and its proverbs, has represented the tyrant Herod as the impersonation of mingled craft and violence, an aged debauchee, hideous in feature and loathsome in his passions. But monstrous as were his crimes and odious as were his vices, in which Asiatic selfishness was rendered more repulsive by the varnish of European cultivation, we must not forget that he is described to us, at least in early life, as a man of gallant bearing, handsome mien, and affable manners, gifted with talents to found a throne, and with graces not unworthy of the fairest princess of his times, the Asmonean Mariamne. This ill-fated woman united, as the granddaughter of Aristobulus on the one side and Hyrcanus on the other, the claims of the rival branches of the Maccabean house. By obtaining her hand the son of the Idumean might hope to conciliate the obedience of the people, who still clung with unabated devotion to the scions of that glorious race. He might trust to the chances of an age of revolutions and his own unscrupulous address, to remove from his path the princes who still stood between his consort and the crown of her fathers. Through his influence with Hyrcanus the betrothal was effected while the intended bride was yet a child. But before the time arrived for the completion of the promised contract Antigonus with the aid of the Parthians had made himself master of Jerusalem, and overthrown the power of

Herod pays court to Antonius.

His marriage with the Asmonean Princess Mariamne.

[1] Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 12. 2.

the Idumean princes. Antonius however had assured Herod of his favour, and the baffled intriguer now repaired to Rome, to represent the impolicy of leaving Judea in the hands of its most formidable rival, while he solicited for himself with lavish bribes the crown which he should be encouraged to tear from the nominee of the Parthians. The tide of fortune in the East was now turned by the great victory of Ventidius. Antonius was preparing to repeat the blow. The squadrons of Pacorus had disappeared from the western banks of the Euphrates, when Sosius appeared before the gates of Jerusalem leading Herod by the hand, and demanded the surrender of the city and the descent of Antigonus from his throne. The Jews defended their prince and their independence with all the constancy of their race. The Romans might now learn for the first time how desperate an enemy they had to deal with on the furthest frontier of their empire. Vast numbers were slain on both sides; but the Romans at last entered the city carrying sword and fire into its streets, and the throne of Herod was erected in a deep slough of blood and ashes, while he received his crown from the hands of the victorious imperator.[1]

Herod the Great receives the kingdom of Judea from Antonius.

The brave Antigonus, fallen from his brief dream of power, was conveyed to Antioch to await the pleasure of Antonius himself. Whatever were the sentiments with which the triumvir might be disposed to regard his captive, the instances of his favourite, who was clamorous for his death, prevailed upon him to sanction this cruel injustice. His execution was accompanied with circumstances of unusual atrocity, for which history has failed to supply us with the motive. Antonius was the first of the Romans who consented

Herod cuts off the princes of the Asmonean family.

[1] Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 16.

to smite a king with the axe.[1] Perhaps this ignominious punishment was intended to brand the sufferer as a rebel and an usurper. Perhaps it was adopted in ostentatious disregard of the prescriptions of Roman policy, in token that the triumvir claimed to rule in Asia as an Oriental despot rather than the agent of an European republic. The wretched victim had been previously subjected to the cruel chastisement of the lictor's rods. The adherents of the vanquished Asmonean were visited with no more merciful fate at the hands of Herod himself. The Idumean had learnt in the school of the Roman proscriptions the two concurrent objects for which the tyrant selects his victims, the satisfaction of his vengeance and the replenishment of his coffers. The requisitions of Antonius pressed hard upon the creature of his favour, and the debt could only be discharged by a system of rapine and confiscation. The Jews, crushed to the ground under this reign of terror, gave vent to their indignation by the acclamations they unguardedly lavished upon the young Aristobulus, the brother of their queen Mariamne. The jealousy of Herod, already watching its moment to strike, was inflamed to a sudden resolution, and the youth was drowned, as was believed, in bathing by the ministers of the royal policy. Neither his sister nor the people were deceived by the vain pretence of sorrow, and the magnificence of the funeral which his murderer exhibited in public. But Herod was conscious that in clearing away the rival claims from the foundation of his throne, he was forfeiting irretrievably the popular regard, which the brilliancy of his court, the munificence of his public works, his bravery and his good fortune might gradually have conciliated. He became daily more and more dependent upon the protection of his Roman patron,

[1] Dion, xlix. 22.; Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 1.

to whose profuse expenditure he was compelled to minister by fresh exactions upon his indignant subjects. He was tortured also with apprehension from the unbounded influence of Cleopatra. The sovereigns of Judea and Egypt were rivals for the favour of the disposer of Oriental crowns, and their attention was divided between paying court to the triumvir and outwitting one another. On the one hand, the mistress was daily receiving new tokens of her lover's devotion; crowns and sceptres were showered in her lap, and the throne of Judea itself might be bartered to her in a moment of passionate fondness. On the other, the friend and ally of the triumvir held a position of real political importance on the frontier of Parthia and Arabia, while years, already arrived at their meridian, must strip his rival of her charms, or satiety pall upon them. The queen of Egypt accompanied the Roman imperator to the banks of the Euphrates, and received from him, at parting on the eve of hs perilous enterprise, certain territories bordering upon the kingdom of Judea. On her return homewards she directed her route through Herod's dominions, and contrived to make a sojourn of some duration in his capital. Her pretext was the arrangement of the terms on which she should surrender to him the financial administration of these new acquisitions; but she took advantage, it is said, of the opportunity to make advances to him of a different kind, hoping, in case of the defeat of her Roman lover, to secure a devoted friend in another powerful potentate.[1] Herod however was too astute a politician to fall into the snare. He knew how readily she would sacrifice him if Antonius should return victorious to her arms. At the same time he was not without ap-

Cleopatra makes advances to Herod, which he rejects.

[1] Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 5. 2.

prehension of the consequence of rejecting her favours: and if we may believe the historians, he allowed it to be solemnly debated among his counsellors whether she should not be detained and put to death. This suggestion was overruled and Cleopatra reached Alexandria in safety, soon to be rejoined by her Roman protector. Herod undertook at her desire to farm the revenues of her new possessions, an engagement which he diligently discharged.

Herod is confirmed in his sovereignty by Octavius.

During the years of feverish intoxication which followed, Cleopatra found no means of maturing the ambitious projects she had doubtless conceived with regard to her neighbour's dominions. The rival potentates watched and fenced with one another, uncertain whether to blend in alliance or to challenge to the combat, when the battle of Actium rudely snapped the threads of their intrigues, and reduced both to the attitude of suppliants for existence. We have seen with what different success the rulers of Egypt and Judea humbled themselves before Octavius. Herod was replaced with pomp and ceremony on the throne from which he had hastily descended to throw himself at the feet of the universal ruler. But he returned to a divided family, an estranged wife, and an indignant people. So apprehensive had he been of the consequences of his deserved unpopularity that he had not dared to quit Judea till he had secured himself by the murder of Hyrcanus against the pretensions of the Asmonean family. History hardly presents a more tragic situation than that of the devoted Mariamne, the miserable object of a furious attachment on the part of the monster who had slain before her eyes her uncle, her brother and her grandfather.

Herod's love and jealousy of Mariamne.

Herod doted upon her beauty, in which she bore away the palm from every princess of her time; the blood which flowed in her veins secured to him the throne which he had raised upon the ruins of her

father's house; but her personal and political claims upon the royal regard made her doubly obnoxious to the sister of the usurper, who felt alike humiliated by either. Mariamne was imperious in temper; she despised the meaner parentage both of Herod and Salome, and was disgusted with the endearments of her husband, stained with the blood of her murdered kinsmen. She rebuked him impetuously for his barbarities, repelled his caresses and denied him his rights over her person, while she maintained inviolate against all others the dignity of her conjugal virtue.[1] Herod was apprehensive of her influence with the people, to the detriment of his own upstart family, and her resentment was inflamed by discovering that he had given orders on leaving Judea that she should be put to death in the event of his being sacrificed by Octavius. There was little need of artifice to effect the destruction of one who laid herself open so fearlessly to the wrath of a tyrant, however he might be besotted by his love. The foes of Mariamne pretended that she had plotted to poison her husband. She was seized, examined, and sentence of death formally passed upon her. The sentence may have been intended only to intimidate her; but its execution was urged by the jealous passions of Salome, and Herod's fears were worked upon till he consented to let the blow fall. Her misery was crowned by the craven reproaches of her mother Alexandra, who sought to escape partaking in her fate by basely cringing to the murderer. But she, the last daughter of a noble race, endured with constancy to the end, and the favour of her admiring countrymen has not failed to accord to her a distinguished place in the long line of Jewish heroines. They recorded with grim delight the tyrant's unavailing remorse, his fruitless yearnings

He causes her to be put to death

His remorse.

[1] Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 7. 4.

for the victim he had sacrificed, the plaintive exclamations he made to echo through his palace, and the passionate upbraidings with which he assailed her judges. He strove, it was said, by magical incantations to recal her spirit from the shades, and as if to drive from his mind the intolerable recollection of her loss, commanded his attendants always to speak of her as one alive.[1] Whether or not the pestilence which ensued might justly be regarded as a divine judgment, the harp diseases and deep settled melancholy which afflicted the murderer formed a signal and merited retribution for his crime.

His obsequiousness to the ruler of Rome, and able government in Judea.

From the time that Octavius replaced the diadem on Herod's brow, and assured him of his protection, the Idumean sought to deserve his favour by solicitous and abject compliances. We shall have occasion to revert hereafter to the affairs of Judea during the long period through which he continued to administer them. At present, in closing this chapter, it will be sufficient to say that Herod became from henceforward the foremost vassal of the Roman state, his forces the most numerous, his court the most brilliant, his obedience the most exemplary. The tribute he paid to Rome was an annual acknowledgment of the tenure by which he held his power; but it was neither meant to impoverish his own treasury nor to enrich that of his sovereigns. He continued to fill Judea with edifices in the Greek taste; he adorned Jerusalem with a spacious amphitheatre, instituted games and spectacles after the European fashion, and at a later period stood foremost in proclaiming the divinity of his great patron, and cherishing the rites of the Cæsarean cult. But at the same time he soothed the injured feelings of the native population by the magnificence with which he rebuilt their

[1] Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 7. 7., *Bell. Jud.* i. 22. 5.

temple; though he continued to pursue his political ends with the same sanguinary barbarity as ever, he was not regardless of the general well-being of the people; and notwithstanding the manifold expenditure in which he indulged, he graciously remitted to his subjects one-third of their contributions.[1]

[1] Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 10., *Bell. Jud.* i. 21.

CHAPTER XXX.

Octavius returns to Rome, A.U. 725, B.C. 29, and triumphs.—Festivals and rejoicings.—Divine honours are paid to him.—Peace restored throughout the empire, and the temple of Janus closed.—Octavius reflects on his position: pretended debate on the question of resigning power.—He receives, 1. the prefix of imperator: 2. the potestas censoria, by which he reforms the senate, and takes the census: 3. the principate. He offers to resign the imperium, but accepts it again for four years: with, 4. the proconsular power in the provinces: 5. the title of Augustus: 6. exemption from certain laws.—His sickness.—Question of the succession. He gives his ring to Agrippa; but recovers.—He accepts, 7. the potestas tribunitia.—Commencement of the monarchy.

Tacitus's review of the position of Octavius.

WITH the slaughter of Brutus and Cassius, says the gravest of Roman historians, in commencing his review of the imperial polity, all public grounds of civil contention ceased; with the overthrow of Sextus the Pompeian faction was extinguished; and finally, on the deprivation of Lepidus and the death of Antonius, even the victorious party acknowledged no divided interests, and Octavius maintained his place without a rival at its head. The survivor of so many revolutions, the last heir of so many political testaments, dropped the irregular and odious title of triumvir. He vaunted himself consul of the republic, and pretended to wield the powers of the tribunate only to protect the commons against a revival of aristocratic ascendancy. Thenceforth he proceeded to attach to his own person the soldiers by largesses, the people by cheapness of provisions, and the nation generally by the charms of public tranquillity: step by step he developed his ambitious views, he drew into his own hands the functions of the senate, the magistrates, and the laws: nor did he meet with any opposition in this career, for

the most independent of the nobles had perished in the wars, and the rest, advanced in wealth and honours according to the promptness of their submission, learned to prefer the security of the new regime to the dangers of a counter-revolution. Nor was the change resented by the provinces; for to them the old rule of the senate and people had become odious from the contests of the nobles and the cupidity of their governors, against which the laws afforded them no protection, controlled as they were by force, by favour, and by corruption.[1]

Such is the simple statement which I have now to illustrate and confirm. The chapters of this work next ensuing will be devoted to the task: 1. of tracing the steps by which the conqueror gathered into his hands the various offices and functions of the state: 2. of divining the nature and limits of the powers, from the combination of which resulted the imperial despotism of the Cæsars: 3. of describing the administrative system imposed upon Rome, Italy, and the provinces.

State of Rome.

During the absence from Rome of the victor of Actium, which extended over almost two complete years from the date of that battle, the government of Italy and the city remained in the hands of the faithful and politic Mæcenas. We have seen that the authority of the civilian was strengthened by the presence of Agrippa, whose name was equally popular with both the army and the people; but it was from the former probably that the acts of the administration emanated, and according to the testimony of history the labouring vessel of the state was guided into port by his policy. After the first subsidence of the storm of civil warfare Italy was still agitated by the ground-swell of popular dissatisfaction. The soldiers still murmured at the disappointment of their demands, the citizens groaned under the pres-

[1] Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 2.

sure of the unexampled exactions to which they had been subjected, the ordinary course of monetary transactions had been thrown into confusion by the rapid vicissitudes of victory and defeat, and the value of all commodities unsettled by pouring into the market the hoarded treasures of a hundred temples. *Peace* was the magic word which alone the minister could employ to soothe the waves of popular discontent; no political measures would avail to retrieve at once the manifold disasters of so many years of civil contention; but in the prospect of future tranquillity balm might yet be found for the sorrows of the past and the anxieties of the present; and the policy of the statesman was directed to establishing the foundations of a permanent peace on the fears, the hopes, and all the dearest interests of society. If the state of the public mind was rife with elements of disorder for the use of the adventurer and the demagogue, not less did it supply the conservative statesman with the strongest weapons of defence. A son of the dispossessed triumvir Lepidus was tempted to conspire against the government of Octavius. His attempt was not more prosperous than that of his grandfather, who aspired to overthrow the constitution of Sulla, while it was yet warm from the anvil of the dictator's forge. Mæcenas, whose silent and unobtrusive vigilance none of the intrigues around him could escape, detected the plot and watched it unobserved, till the moment arrived for extinguishing it at a single blow. The hapless conspirator was seized and sent in chains to Octavius in the East, before it could be known what watchword he was about to inscribe upon his banner. The flatterers of the rising dynasty prognosticated an awful conflagration from the civil conflict upon which he was about to rush, and congratulated the commonwealth on its being so maturely subdued.[1] But at that moment

Abortive insurrection of the younger Lepidus.

[1] Vell. ii. 88.; Dion, liv. 15.; Liv. *Epit.* cxxxiii.

there did not exist resources for a serious rebellion against Octavius. The master of the legions and the treasury could still allow the father to retain his life and official dignity, while he inflicted condign punishment upon the son.

Octavius passed the second winter after the battle of Actium in Asia Minor, and it was there that he entered upon his fifth consulship at the opening of the year 725, in which he associated with himself a noble of no other historical distinction named Appuleius.[1] He continued to linger on the further side of the Ægean through the first half of the year, in order perhaps that the honours which the senate was disposed to lavish upon him might seem to fall spontaneously from its hands, while he was absent from the city for the defence or advancement of its highest interests. He received courier after courier bearing the successive decrees passed with acclamation in his honour. The senate graciously permitted the conqueror to wear on all public occasions the triumphal insignia, namely, a scarlet mantle and a laurel crown. A quinquennial festival was instituted in his name[2]; his birthday was commemorated with religious rites, and the day on which the news of his victory reached the city was marked as an auspicious epoch in the calendar. The Vestals, the senate and the people of Rome were enjoined to go forth in solemn procession to conduct him into the city when he should arrive before its gates. The priests were ordered to add the name of Octavius to the sacred formula, in their prayers for the safety of the senate and people. A decree, it is said, of much more substantial importance

Octavius absent from Rome.
A.U. 724. B.C. 30.
Honours showered upon him.

[1] Dion, li. 18. Correct Suet. *Oct.* 26., "quintam in insula Samo:" he should have said "quartam."

[2] Dion, li. 19.; Suet. *Oct.* 59. These festivals were celebrated in the provinces, as well as in the city. Herod instituted them at Jerusalem and Cæsarea. Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 8., xvi. 5.

was proposed, by which Octavius should be invested for life with the *potestas tribunitia*, the functions and privileges of the tribunate, with some additional and extraordinary powers: but this he seems at this time to have refused, being yet unprepared to take so bold a step towards supreme dominion.

His triple triumph.

It was resolved to raise the youthful hero at once to a level with the great warriors Pompeius and Cæsar, by assigning him the honours of a triple triumph.[1] The successes which he had obtained over the Dalmatians, in person or by his lieutenants, furnished the subject of the first: the second was accorded to the great battle of Actium, which had broken the strength of the Egyptian aggressor, while the last commemorated the final extinction of the rivalry of the East and West before the walls of Alexandria. The name of Antonius was not associated with these discomfitures; the trophies exhibited were carefully confined to the spoils of the foreigner. Octavius triumphed on the seventh and following days of the month Sextilis, in the year 725. The spectacle of the last day was the richest and most attractive. The procession was headed by the captive children of the queen and her Roman lover; and the figure of Cleopatra herself was introduced reclining lifeless upon a couch; but the magistrates who were wont to precede or accompany the triumphal car were on this occasion directed to follow it, and mingled ignominiously with the officers of the victorious army;

[1] The imperator triumphed for his personal successes over the Dalmatians, Pannonians, and Iapydæ; but he claimed also to share the merit of the victories of his legate C. Carrinas over the Suevi and Morini. Virgil in his picturesque allusion to these triumphs associates with these northern tribes "the indomitable Dahæ and Araxes that spurns a bridge." It was only by a poetical licence that the compliments of the rude chieftains of the Caspian or the Caucasus could be interpreted into tokens of submission. Carrinas was associated in this triumph with his imperator. It was remarked that his father had been slain by Sulla, and his family proscribed and disqualified from public service. Dion, li. 21.

an innovation which might be remarked as significant of the impending predominance of military power in the state.

Dedication of temples, games, and spectacles.

As soon as the imperator had sacrificed to Jupiter in the Capitol, he proceeded to dedicate a temple to Minerva, and to inaugurate in the name of the great Julius the basilica recently completed, which his uncle had commenced in the forum. In this building, which became the usual place of meeting for the senate, he placed a statue of the goddess Victory, which is mentioned as still standing there two centuries later, and was in all probability the same which was finally removed from those august precincts by the Christian emperor Gratianus, amidst the indignant murmurs of the pagans of Rome.[1] Octavius now dedicated also the shrine of the hero Julius, which had been erected on the spot of his cremation.[2] This and other tem-

[1] This famous statue had been brought at an earlier period from Tarentum to Rome. (Dion, li. 22.) On the death of Octavius it was removed from its pedestal and carried before his funeral bier. (Suet. *Oct.* 101.) The altar which stood in front of it is mentioned by Herodian, writing of the reign of the emperor Gordianus, Herodian, vii. 28. The struggle of the pagans to preserve it, as the palladium of their ancient faith, is illustrated in the address of Symmachus to the emperor A.D. 384, and the replies of the bishop Ambrosius and the poet Prudentius.

[2] Cæsar's body was consumed in front of the pontifical mansion, that is, at the south-eastern extremity of the Roman forum, where it begins to descend from the Velia and the arch of Titus. The temple faced the Capitoline, and its position must be nearly that of the existing church of S. Francesca Romana, which is said to occupy the site of an older edifice dedicated to S. Maria. Both these later structures may possibly have risen on the foundation of the temple of Julius. For the position of this temple compare Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 841.:—

"Ut semper Capitolia nostra forumque
Divus ab excelsa prospectet Julius æde."

And again, *Ex Pont.* ii. 2. 85.,

"Fratribus assimilis quos proxima templa tenentes
Divus ab excelsa Julius æde videt."

The "loftiness" of this temple refers both to its commanding position, and also to the substruction (κρηπίς, Dion, li. 19.) on which the columns were raised.

ples he decorated with the spoils of Egypt. He entered from this period on the restoration of the decayed or ruined fanes of the national divinities in the city; he encouraged his courtiers to imitate his example in the same politic course[1]; and it was only a few years later that the favourite poet of the court could speak of three hundred shrines consecrated by his patron to the gods of Italy.[2] A succession of splendid spectacles followed. A troop of patrician children rehearsed the Game of Troy, an equestrian exercise remembered in the eighth century of the city by antiquarians only. A senator named Vintelius fought publicly as a gladiator. The rhinoceros and hippopotamus, then first seen at Rome, were slaughtered in the amphitheatre. Bands of Dacians and Sueves, captured on the Gaulish or Thracian frontier, the former at least a name yet hardly known to the conquerors of the civilized world, were compelled to combat and destroy each other in the arena. On one day in the course of these festivities, the senators, it is recorded, supped each apart in the vestibule of his own mansion: but the motive of this stately observance was forgotten in the time of Dion.

Effect of the plunder of temples in the civil wars upon the circulation of money.

Octavius now addressed to his soldiers an harangue, in which he lavished encomiums on his most illustrious officers, and proceeded to gratify them with suitable rewards. Upon Agrippa, whom he justly distinguished above all his comrades, he conferred the decoration of a cerulean

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 29.: "Sed et cæteros principes viros sæpe hortatus est, ut pro facultate quisque monumentis vel novis vel refectis et excultis urbem adornaret; multaque a multis exstructa sunt." He continues, "A M. Agrippa vero complura et egregia." Comp. Vell. ii. 89.; Senec. *de Benef.* iii. 32.

[2] Virgil, *Æn.* viii. in fin., "Dîs Italis." Octavius himself records the building or restoration of ninety-five temples in all (*Mon. Ancyr.* iv.; Comp. Dion, liii. 2.); but the three hundred shrines referred to are probably the ædiculæ, or chapels, of the Lares in each vicus.

banner, in token of his naval victory. One thousand sesterces were assigned to each of the veterans of his numerous legions[1]; four hundred were allotted to every private citizen, and in this general largess children were for the first time included. Profuse in his liberality to his dependants, he was moderate in his demands upon his subjects. He declined the coronary gold proffered to him by the Italian states, and while he scrupulously discharged the debts and pledges he had incurred, he refrained from demanding the dues to which he was himself entitled. The conqueror of Egypt could afford to be generous. The lavish expenditure of Cleopatra had not sufficed to exhaust the hoarded treasures of her ancestors: but the masses of gold and silver bullion which the victor had torn from the palaces and temples of Alexandria must have far exceeded the coined money in value. When he poured into the Roman market this uncounted wealth, estates and commodities were doubled in nominal value, and the interest of money at the same time sank two thirds.[2] A similar disturbance in the money market had been observed during the dictatorship of Julius Cæsar. The Roman economists, led away by the splendour of the great captain's military successes, had attributed this effect to the treasure which he was supposed to have introduced into the city from Gaul. There is no reason, however, to suppose that the wealth of the barbarians had sufficed for much more than paying the expenses of their conqueror's campaigns. He enriched his fol-

[1] They amounted to 120,000. Vide Monum. Ancyr. iii. 17.

[2] Suet. *Octav.* 41.: "Invecta urbi regia gaza tantam rei nummariæ copiam fecit ut fœnore diminuto plurimum agrorum pretiis accesserit." Dion, li. 21.: *ὥστε τὰ μὲν κτήματα ἐπιτιμηθῆναι, τὰ δὲ δανείσματα, ἀγαπητῶς ἐπὶ δραχμῇ πρότερον ὄντα, τότε ἐπὶ τῷ τριτημορίῳ αὐτῆς γενέσθαι.* Oros. vi. 19.: "Roma in tantum opibus aucta est, ut propter abundantiam pecuniarum, duplicia quam usque ad id fuerant possessionum aliarumque rerum venalium pretia statuerentur."

lowers with the spoils of war, but he did not return himself full-handed to Italy. As soon as he became master of Rome he found himself compelled to rifle the treasury of the temple of Saturn to obtain the necessary resources for maintaining his legions. We are informed, incredible as it may appear, that at the commencement of the Social wars the public treasury contained hoards to the amount of seventy millions of our money[1], and if we could suppose that the masses of the precious metals which Metellus, Lucullus, and Pompeius paraded in their triumphs were faithfully deposited and as faithfully preserved there, we might presume that this sum had been more than doubled when Cæsar laid his impious hands upon it.[2] There is no collateral evidence, however, that the conqueror of Rome became thus suddenly possessed of enormous wealth. The armies which he maintained were comparatively small in number; the cost of his public works had already been for the most part defrayed: nor, on the other hand, is it probable that the government he overthrew had abstained from dipping into the public coffers, to defray the vast civil and military expenses which it had incurred since the time of Sulla. In fact, the temple of Saturn was only one of many sacred treasuries which were plundered in the campaigns of the period. Crassus and Pompeius had rifled the hoards of Jerusalem, Cæsar himself had plundered Gades, Scipio

[1] Pliny, *H. N.* xxxiii. 17. He mentions the gold only, which amounted to 1,620,829 lbs. The Roman pound of gold = 40 aurei, or about 42 of our sovereigns.

[2] Lucan, iii. 155. Orosius (vi. 15.) states the amount of gold seized by Cæsar at 4,135,000 lbs. = about 170,000,000*l.* Pliny gives the amount in ingots: "C. Cæsar primo introitu urbis in civili bello suo ex ærario protulit laterum aureorum XXV.M. argenteorum XXXV., et in numerato quadringenties centena millia sestertium. Nec fuit aliis temporibus respublica locupletior" (Plin. *l. c.*). I have intimated however in the text that I do not believe anything like this amount of treasure was found in the temple of Saturn. Comp. Dureau de la Malle, *Econ. Polit. des Romains*, i. 91.

had lived for two years at free quarters in Asia Minor. After the death of the dictator, Brutus and Cassius had spoiled all the Eastern provinces in succession; Octavius, and more particularly Antonius, had gleaned the remains of this harvest, which had fed the twenty legions of their rivals. The plunder of Alexandria was only the crowning spoliation of a series of robberies extending through many years, and perpetrated in turn by the hands of every Roman imperator. The temples of the ancient world were the banks in which private possessors deposited their most precious effects. Vast quantities of plate and jewellery were probably amassed in them; and the necessities of war must frequently have required these to be melted down and coined into money according to their intrinsic value for the daily pay of clamorous legionaries. It was not the spoils of Gaul then, nor the plunder of the national treasury, that enhanced so enormously the circulation of gold and silver at this period, but the systematic distribution of the hoarded wealth of the East and West. The effect thus produced upon prices, we may easily conceive, fell short in no degree of that which is recorded of it. It would doubtless have been much greater, but for the practice, which in such disturbed times must have been extremely common, of concealing money and valuables. The existence of such a practice undoubtedly requires no proof, but it is illustrated by an interesting discovery of buried coins near Fiesole, the Roman Fæsulæ, the dates of which extend to the consulship of Cicero, and no later. At the close of that year, it will be remembered, Catilina was scouring the hills of Etruria, and many a Roman colonist or Etruscan freebooter may have thrust his pot of money underground, there to await the event of the impending revolution.

During the imperator's fourth consulate, in the year preceding his return from the East, Statilius

Taurus had erected, after the example of Pompeius, a theatre of stone in the Field of Mars. The people of Rome might now deem their amusements a part of the permanent charge of the government. They expressed their gratitude by allowing their benefactor to nominate one of the prætors annually, a privilege, indeed, which it was no longer theirs to confer, nor his to exercise. But the Roman citizens observed without alarm the shadows of tyranny beginning to close around them. The enhancement of prices, which they might have felt more sensibly, hardly touched a populace whose subsistence and diversions were provided by the state. A vast proportion of the higher classes had been enlisted in the legions, and these were for the most part seduced into acquiescence by the wages of their military service. Those who remained to suffer by the economical results of the revolution, became the more dependent upon the favour of their ruler, and scrambled the more eagerly for the emoluments of civil employment, which he distributed with politic liberality. All eyes were turned in admiring expectation upon the fountain from whence these golden rivers flowed. Octavius became the idol of the glowing imaginations which anticipated a reign of universal riches attendant upon universal peace. The Romans heard without dismay that their patron and preserver had permitted the people of Ephesus and Nicæa to erect temples in honour of the associated deities of Rome and Julius, and even that he had enjoined Roman citizens abroad to pay them divine honours.[1] They noticed with complacency that he had restricted the worship of himself alone to Greeks and Asiatics: but the extravagance of flattery soon subdued all remaining scruples. Philosophy and

Divine honours paid to Octavius.

[1] It was not unusual to erect temples even to the proconsuls in the provinces. Suet. *Oct.* 52.

morality were impotent to resist; and the pride of equality, the last barrier of reason, gave way before the acknowledged supremacy of a living mortal. Among the Romans themselves the adoration of the Cæsar was veiled perhaps at first in the recesses of private dwellings; but the remark of Dion, that no personage of consideration ever worshipped a living emperor in Rome or Italy, can hardly be maintained in the face of the compliments which were paid to their patron by Virgil and Horace, not to mention the grosser adulation of later times.[1]

The second of the civil wars which was consummated by the triumph of Octavius, had lasted through a period of twenty years, dating from the passage of the Rubicon in the year of the city 705. With the reconciliation of internal dissensions all foreign quarrels were buried in oblivion, universal peace was restored, the fury of arms was lulled to sleep in every quarter, the laws recovered their force, the tribunals their authority, the Senate its majesty, the powers of the magistrates returned to their ancient limits.[2] Such was the glowing language of the panegyrists of the Cæsarean house; but they echoed faithfully the solemn accents of the national decrees. The cry of the whole nation was for peace, and the government took advantage of the general enthusiasm to inaugurate the cessation of hostilities by an impressive religious ceremony. The temple of Janus, on the border of the Roman Forum, stood constantly with open doors. The origin of this usage was lost in remote antiquity; but at the close of the first Punic war there existed a tradition, that

Closing of the Temple of Janus.

[1] Dion. li. 20.; Virg. *Georg.* iii. 16.; Hor. *Ep.* ii. 1. 15. Comp. Ovid. *ex Pont.* iv. 9. 105.

[2] Vell. ii. 89.: "Finita vicesimo anno bella civilia, sepulta externa, revocata pax, sopitus ubique armorum furor, restituta vis legibus, judiciis auctoritas, senatui majestas, imperium magistratuum ad pristinum redactum modum."

Janus had never been shut except in time of peace; and it was confidently affirmed that no such blissful era had dawned upon the martial city since the tranquil reign of its lawgiver Numa. In the year 725 of the city the senate decreed that this temple should be closed for the third time by Octavius.[1] In its zeal to assign a distinction, which was now regarded as a merit, to the victorious imperator, it refused to recognise the existence of the petty disturbances of Spain or on the Gallic frontier, where his lieutenants were still engaged in obscure and desultory warfare. Octavius enumerated the closing of the gates of Janus among his most honourable, as it was undoubtedly one of his most popular achievements; and so much was he pleased with the favour it obtained from the citizens, that he performed the same ceremony again on two subsequent occasions.[2]

The Romans and their master reflect upon their position towards each other.

When the excitement attendant upon these spectacles and ceremonies had subsided, both the Roman people and the new master they had admitted within their walls had leisure to meditate upon the future. Octavius felt that the pretexts upon which he had taken the command of the legions were fully satisfied. He had avenged the murder of the Marian champion; all the conspirators against Cæsar had perished by the sword. He had defended the state from foreign invasion, and trodden on the prostrate neck of the enemy. Some humble advances on the part of the Parthians might be accepted as an instalment, at least, of the reparation due for the disaster of Carrhæ. The closing of the temple of Janus indicated that the state reposed

[1] Liv. i. 19.; Vell. ii. 38. 89, 90.; Flor. iv. 12.; Suet. *Oct.* 22.

[2] Monum. Ancyr. ii. 42.: "Quumque a condita urbe Janum Quirinum bis omnino clausum fuisse prodatur, eum senatus per me Principem ter claudendum esse decrevit." It has been doubted whether the word *ter* be not a mistake or an abbreviation for *tertio*. But Dion alludes to the two subsequent occasions, A.U. 729 and 744. Dion, liii. 26., liv. 36. Comp. Oros. vi. 22.

peacefully under the laurels its champion had gained for it, and required no longer the protection of his sword. Hitherto he had acted with the studied moderation of a republican patriot. Though consecrated by the example of his illustrious uncle ready to his hand, he had abstained from demanding the title of dictator; he had laid down the extraordinary office of triumvir at the moment when its appointed object seemed to be attained. Thenceforth he had remained content with the consulship, the cornerstone of freedom and law. Armed with the powers of this popular office, which, while jealously limited within the city, conferred in the provinces and on the frontiers almost boundless authority, Octavius had disposed the affairs of the empire beyond the seas at his own discretion, and surrounded himself with an enormous military force. The senate, in the exercise of its legitimate functions, confirmed all the acts of his foreign and domestic policy: every step he had taken had been carefully adapted to acknowledged precedent, and admitted an apology from constitutional usage. Meanwhile, the adulation of his grateful countrymen threatened to transgress in every direction the strict form to which he so studiously confined himself. He feared to be hurried over the boundaries of law by the pressure of popular acclamation. The concentration in his hand of all the powers of the sword, which, by their dispersion among several rivals, had hitherto preserved the balance of the state, seemed to point to the dictatorship as the natural summit of his ambition. But he was deeply impressed by the fate of his great predecessor, to whom he confessed his own inferiority in fame, in favour, and perhaps in genius. In the height of his power and popularity Julius had perished, because the personal envy of his associates could be cloaked under the guise of resistance to tyranny. The conspiracy against him had been headed by his dearest

and most trusted friend; and Octavius, secure in the devotion of the national will, might tremble at the specious pretences of the private assassin. He had resolved deliberately from the first to win supremacy and to keep it; he would not now thwart the settled purpose of his life by surrendering the preeminence he had attained, and throwing the prize into the forum for his rivals to scramble for. The people of Rome were at the moment determined to have a chief ruler, whom they regarded as a pledge of public tranquillity; and the succession of Julius would undoubtedly have devolved by popular acclamation upon a Lepidus, or an Agrippa, if its hereditary claimant renounced his pretensions. Indeed, in the second recast of the imperial drama, Agrippa might seem to play the part of Brutus to the Cæsar of Octavius. The trusty friend and officer of the imperator might still wear a poniard under his robe, to be drawn in any moment of dissatisfaction or jealousy. Cæsar, it was surmised, had judged Brutus worthy to inherit from himself; and the reputation of Agrippa as a soldier and a statesman, together with the regard in which he was held by the citizens and the legionaries, might point him out to the people as fittest to succeed or supplant Octavius. Indeed, it was only in birth and family connexions that his chief was superior to him. These accidental merits might be thrown into the shade by a strong personal claim to popular admiration; by pretending to a more genuine republican spirit and disparaging the dubious merit of descent from the dictator, the lieutenant might take, in general regard, the place of the imperator himself.

Accordingly, among the various motives which might combine to induce Octavius to veil his supremacy under the forms of the republic, not the least cogent, we may imagine, was the position of his friend. The common tradition of antiquity, that Agrippa was at heart a republican, is founded

probably on a consciousness of the demands of his political situation. It was currently reported that Octavius after his return to Rome deliberated seriously whether or not he should resign his preeminence; and tradition, faithful to its conception of the character of the soldier-statesman, represented him as earnestly exhorting his chief to sacrifice his personal ambition at the shrine of the general weal. The rhetorical taste of the historian Dion eagerly seized the opportunity for an ingenious array of arguments suitable to the occasion. He introduces a supposed debate in the private recesses of the palace, in which Agrippa and Mæcenas respectively counsel their master, the one to relinquish the monarchy, the other to retain it.[1] Modern criticism has justly concluded that these elaborate harangues are pure inventions of the writer. That attributed to Agrippa is in substance ill-conceived, for it confines the supposed patriot's argument mainly to the question of personal ease and security, and recommends resignation simply as a measure of precaution. But the speech ascribed to Mæcenas is a composition of a higher order; and though it is written on the misconception that the rule of Octavius was a definite monarchical system approaching to that of Commodus, it is not the less valuable as an authentic development of the imperial constitution in the second or third century. Indeed the writer is himself partly conscious that the organization of the commonwealth, suggested, as he pretends, by Mæcenas, was not fully carried out under the principate of his patron. After giving in minute details the various regulations under which the private council of the emperor, the senate, the knights, the magistrates, the army and the provinces, were ultimately constituted, he adds, that Octavius, while he fully approved his friend's advice, deferred from

Pretended debate between Octavius and his advisers, whether he should resign the supreme power.

[1] Dion, lii. 1—40.

motives of policy its complete execution, and left indeed many of his recommendations to be effected by his successors in the supreme power.

Octavius resumes the prefix of Imperator.

We shall hardly believe that the undisputed master of the republic at the age of thirty-three seriously debated within himself whether he should descend from the elevation to which he had dared to aspire at nineteen. That he may have allowed such a notion to get abroad may not be improbable; but his private counsels with Agrippa and Mæcenas, who knew him too well to be deceived by any specious pretensions to republican virtue, were undoubtedly devoted to rearing the edifice of legitimate power on the basis of military force. The army which followed the triumphal car through the streets of Rome was not disbanded when the procession had reached its goal. The imperator still kept his place at the head of the legions, and retained the imperium or military authority which it was usual to surrender into the hands of the senate. But Cæsar had been permitted to wield the imperium permanently, in token of which the title of imperator was prefixed to his name. The precedent once established, it was easy to resort to it again, and the senate readily sanctioned the adoption of this peculiar distinction by Cæsar's successor, who had in strictness an hereditary claim to it.[1] Thus the permanent command-in-chief of all the military forces of the state was conferred upon Octavius before the close of the year 725. Almost at the same time he was invested with functions of another nature, namely, the powers, without the title, of the censorship.[2] The new master of the Roman people was anxious to

[1] According to the tenor of the decree, by which, if we may believe Dion, the "prænomen Imperatoris" was conferred not only upon Cæsar, but upon his children and his posterity. Dion, xliii. 44., lii. 41.

[2] Suet. *Oct.* 27. Dion speaks of him as actually censor (lii. 42.), but this is not to be pressed strictly.

restore the mutilated and degraded senate of Julius and Antonius to a portion at least of its ancient estimation. The numbers of this once august body of nobles, limited in the later ages of the republic to six hundred, had been increased by the dictator to nine hundred, and still further indefinitely augmented by Antonius. Decimated by the sword of the proscriptions, its vacancies had probably been again supplied by many unauthorized intruders; for it is stated that its numbers at the restoration of peace were found to exceed a thousand.[1] In dignity, in fortune, perhaps in age, the qualifications of a large proportion fell below the standard required by law. Foreigners, common soldiers, and freedmen, had been enrolled in it almost indiscriminately, even slaves, freed for the occasion, had been advanced to it, and the proscription had spared precisely those members who conferred upon it least respectability. The policy of the new ruler demanded that the acts of his government should be administered through the hands of this body: the senate under the Cæsarean regime was to impersonate the state; and the great mass of the Roman people, restrained from the actual functions and honours of government, was to see itself reflected in this ancient and venerable order. It was necessary therefore to impart to it dignity corresponding to this exalted destination. To accomplish this end it was requisite that the body should be thoroughly renovated. It had been the function of the censors, under the republic, to choose new members periodically to replace vacancies in the senate, and examine the circumstances and character of the existing members, with a view to the expulsion of the unworthy. A notable instance of its exercise occurred in the year 704, in the censorship of Appius Claudius. But the

[1] Dion, *l. c.*

grave responsibility of an office, worthy of the purest days of the republic, had been prostituted in the corruption of the age to mere personal or party views. The Romans were little disposed to entrust an office so delicate and invidious to the minister of a political faction. They offered it to Octavius, as the man who alone could execute it without fear or partiality. He accepted it in substance, while, on considerations apparently of technical form, he declined the title appertaining to it.[1] He associated Agrippa in the office with himself; and herein we may suspect a sinister motive; for its vigorous exercise was sure to create disgust and disaffection among many personages not destitute of weight and influence, and it was a crafty stroke of policy to commit a possible rival to hostility with them. Octavius made Agrippa his instrument for eliminating the most staunch republicans from the assembly, through which he proposed to rule with absolute sovereignty. But he proceeded cautiously, and with great show of moderation. In the first instance he allowed such among the senators as were conscious of their want of desert, or of their compromised position, to withdraw spontaneously from the assembly. When, in his place in the curia, he called upon the members to consider their own lives and birth, and judge for themselves whether they were fit for the illustrious college, fifty of the number at once understood the hint, and quitted the place of assembly to return no more. But the wielder of the censorship was not yet satisfied. Upon further examination he struck off as many as one hundred and forty more names from the list, and those only who had withdrawn of their own accord did he permit to retain through life the insignia of the order. The ejected members indeed resented with loud murmurs

He accepts the powers of the censorship, and purges the senate of unworthy members.

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 27. The censorship was held to be incompatible with the consulship.

the severe measure which was dealt to them. Octavius pretended to require the defence of an escort of his most faithful followers, and even wore a corselet under his toga in the assembly.[1] Upon the termination of the inquiry he issued an edict forbidding all persons of senatorial rank to quit Italy without his express permission; he feared the disaffection which might be excited by his discontented nobles in the provinces.[2] Over all whose ill-will he had cause to apprehend he kept constant watch, and while he publicly asserted that he had committed the correspondence of Antonius to the flames, it was well known that he preserved for the most part and diligently studied it.

He is regarded as the fountain of honour.

The censorial power thus added to the other functions of the imperator and consul might cause Octavius to be regarded as the fountain of honours and advancement. The new and perhaps even the older senators could not fail to regard him as the author of their dignity: at the same time he undertook to supply the vacancies which twenty years of slaughter had made in the ranks of the patricians. The civil wars had drained the life-blood of the oldest and noblest families of Rome. The various religious rites which were attached to these venerable houses became extinguished with them. It was necessary to repair the loss and redeem the scandal. Octavius obtained a law, passed in the regular form, to enable him to call up many plebeian families into the patrician gentes.[3] While he thus affected to restore the hereditary distinctions of the state to their ancient splendour, he was in fact making

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 35.: "Cordus Cremutius scribet ne admissum quidem tunc quemquam senatorum nisi solum et prætentato sinu."

[2] Dion, *l. c.* This regulation continued long in force. Sicily and the Narbonensis were alone excepted from it; the latter at a later period. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 23.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 25.

such honours more cheap and promiscuous, and thereby, as he clearly saw, widening the gulf which already lay between the master of the Romans and his dependent nobility. The eyes of the citizens were averted from an order which had lost the charm of ancestral dignity, and fixed with more admiring gaze on the hand which could depress the lofty or exalt the lowly at its will.

Octavius takes a census of the Roman people.

In the year 726 Octavius claimed a sixth consulship, in which he associated himself with Agrippa. His conduct was truly *civil* as the Romans expressed it; such, that is, as befitted a good and loyal citizen. He shared the ensigns of office with his colleague, after the simple fashion of the genuine republic, assuming the fasces himself only each alternate month.[1] At the expiration of his term he modestly gave account of the discharge of his duties, and declared upon oath that he had not transgressed the just limits of his functions. He continued to exercise the power of the censorship; and this year he numbered the Roman people, an act of authority which the government had omitted to perform for a period of forty-two years.[2] The result of this inquiry gave the number of four million and sixty-three thousand citizens of the military age, that is, from seventeen to sixty years, which represents a total of more than seventeen millions of both sexes.[3]

[1] Dion (liii. 1.) says that the consuls shared the fasces equally throughout the year. Hoeck corrects this statement on the authority of ancient usage.

[2] Monum. Ancyr. ii. 1.

[3] See Clinton's calculations, *Fast. Hell.* iii. 461. This enumeration comprehends the citizens dispersed throughout the provinces. The census in the year 684 had given four hundred and fifty thousand citizens of military age. The franchise at this period had been already extended to the Italians, and this number is manifestly inadequate to represent the whole free population of the peninsula. But the admission of the Italians made but a trifling addition to the numbers of the census. The enumeration of the lustrum was confined perhaps under the republic to the citizens who could present themselves before the censors in the city. Under the empire it was

This was an enormous advance upon the numbers which had been published on the last similar occasion. The citizens, it may be presumed, did not estimate with precision the different bases on which preceding calculations had been made, and they were doubtless filled with admiration when they heard it announced officially that the Roman people had increased eightfold through forty-two years of dissension and bloodshed. Some part of the glory of this result might seem to redound upon the fortunate hero of the nation who had taken the census. The Romans were now eager to confer new honours upon their favourite. It was the function of the censors, on the completion of their solemn duty, to select from the number of those who had previously served the same office, one whose acknowledged merits and distinctions might point him out as fittest to lead the assembled fathers by his vote and counsel. Since the death of the illustrious Catulus there had been no first man, or prince, as he was termed, of the senate. Agrippa now exercised his censorial power in naming his colleague to that distinguished place, which, while it conferred no direct authority upon him, could not fail by its indirect influence to smooth his path to the princedom of the people.[1]

And is appointed *princeps* or first of the senate.

Meanwhile the usurper exerted himself to keep pace in acts of popular munificence with the honours which were showered upon him. In his sixth consulship he celebrated at Rome the Actian festival in commemoration of his great victory, and exhibited games and shows to the people, intoxicated with the repeated draught of insidious flattery. The public treasury,

Liberality and magnanimity of his conduct.

executed throughout Italy and the provinces by the help of local machinery.

[1] Dion, liii. 1. The full significance and influence of this title will be explained in the next chapter.

so lately filled to overflowing with the spoils of the East, was already exhausted; but Octavius defrayed the cost at his own private expense. With similar liberality he this year increased fourfold the customary largess of corn.[1] While he thus courted the favour of the mass of the citizens his generosity was not less diligently displayed in giving aid to poor members of the senate, and to men of families whose circumstances would not allow them to undertake the costly magistracies of the state. He remitted at the same time with certain exceptions all arrears of public dues, and burnt the documents relating to them.[2] To the state he made compensation for this sacrifice from his own funds. There was no less generosity, of another kind, in rescinding many enactments of the triumvirate, which bore with harshness and injustice upon particular citizens. A single magnanimous edict swept away all that remained of the iniquitous legislation of that reign of terror. At the same time, the example and earnest exhortations of the imperator induced many of the principal nobles to undertake the execution of splendid works for the decoration of the city. Agrippa and Pollio, Statilius and Philippus, Plancus and Balbus, vied with each other in paying court to their patron by this well-timed munificence, which the public could no longer claim from them. Octavius consecrated the famous temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill[3]; which, besides its dazzling columns of Parian marble[4], was renowned for the library which he there collected

He consecrates the temple of Apollo on the Palatine.

[1] Dion, liii. 2.

[2] Dion, *l. c.*; Suet. *Oct.* 32.

[3] This temple was built on a part of the site of the founder's private mansion: a portion of this dwelling had been consumed by lightning, and the augurs declared that the god demanded the spot for his own. Suet. *Oct.* 29.

[4] Virg. *Æn.* viii. *in fin.*, with studied reiteration;

"Ipse sedens *niveo candentis* limine Phœbi."

for the use of the citizens. Nothing could exceed the outward signs of prosperity which attended the foundation of the new constitution of Rome. Amidst the acclamations of the people, the gratitude of the nobles, and the zealous services of his associates and ministers, Octavius might tread the ground firmly and feel his footing sure. He effected a closer union between himself and his colleague by giving him his sister's daughter Marcella in marriage.[1] It was a measure of precaution, perhaps, not less than a mark of favour.

Octavius offers to resign the imperium.

As Octavius felt himself more secure of his countrymen's regard, he ventured to affect magnanimity of a still higher kind. The imperium had been conferred upon him without any limitation in point of time: the citizens in their enthusiasm had invested their champion with powers only second to those of a dictator, without even the ordinary guarantees for their speedy cessation. The politic usurper was apprehensive of the jealousy which would succeed to this boundless confidence when the first ardour of their affection should cool. He had caused himself to be appointed consul for the seventh time for the year 727: but on the first of January he offered in a solemn address to the senate to resign the imperatorial functions into the hands of his indulgent patrons. Such then was the result of the private deliberations of which the city had already been apprised. Octavius was prepared, forsooth, to restore the independence of the commonwealth. The imperial rule was an ensign of war: but the imperator had shut the temple of Janus. Every public enemy had fallen before him; every citizen had been preserved; every province secured; every ally satisfied. The champion of the state had

[1] Marcella, daughter of Octavia by her first husband C. Marcellus, consul A.U. 704. Plut. *Anton.* 87.; Dion, liii. 1.; Suet. *Oct.* 63.

fought for the interests of Rome, nor had he ever proposed to advance his own dignity beyond the legitimate bounds of constitutional precedent. If the peculiar circumstances of the times had surrounded his person with extraordinary distinctions, if all the legions of Cæsar and Pompeius, of Brutus and Antonius, had arrayed themselves under the banner of the last survivor of the civil wars, he at least could not forget the duties of a citizen, nor would he shrink from the sacrifice which patriotism demanded. Duty, he continued, commanded him to resign his military supremacy; his personal safety counselled the same course; the toils and troubles he had undergone had exhausted the vigour of his youth, and his failing health reminded him that a power which might be wielded for a moment in the excitement of a political crisis, was a burden exceeding, under ordinary circumstances, the strength of man. In replacing his trust in the hands of the commonwealth, he depended upon her wisdom and firmness, under the sanctions of the law, for the preservation of public order at home and dominion abroad, which by divine favour his victorious arms had obtained for her. Such was probably the tone of the wily politician's address. The garb in which the historian Dion has invested it, is evidently borrowed from the ideas of a much later age, and we are not to imagine that Octavius proposed in direct terms to surrender a throne and a sceptre, and exchange an acknowledged despotism for popular independence and legal equality.[1]

The historian just referred to has analysed with much ingenuity the feelings with which the Romans

[1] Dion, liii. 3—12. Comp. Suet. *Oct.* 28.: "De reddenda republica bis cogitavit: primo post oppressum statim Antonium . . . , ac rursus tædio valetudinis." Seneca, *de Brev. Vitæ*, c. 5.: "D. Augustus cui dii plura quam ulli præstiterunt, non desiit quietem sibi precari, vacationem a republ. petere. Omnis ejus sermo ad hoc semper revolutus est, ut sibi pararet otium."

beheld this unexpected manœuvre. Doubtless many of them, and those in truth the wisest and most far-sighted, shuddered at the prospect which it pretended to open. They foresaw that the descent of their champion from his actual preeminence would only reopen the question of a century of civil war, what man or what party should bear rule in Rome. Whether the heir of the dictator had really usurped the powers which he wielded, whether he had seized them by force or extorted them by flattery, or whether in fact they had been thrust upon him, restitution was no longer possible. It was not in the power of the imperator himself to restore the commonwealth to the position she occupied only fifteen years before, when the trumpets were sounding under the walls of Mutina, still less to roll time and circumstance seven years further back, when Cæsar's Gallic coursers stemmed the waters of the Rubicon. The double process of exhaustion and infusion had drained the senate of its best blood, and replenished it with weaker and impurer life. It had forfeited all claim to guide the counsels of the people; and the people itself had undergone a similar transmutation, and, while it had learned to disdain the prescriptive authority of its patrician chieftains, had acquired no independent principles of political action. The Roman nation at the close of the Julian revolution, without organic life or spontaneous motion, lay supine and plastic in the hands of the most powerful. The work of destruction was fully accomplished; exhausted of the ideas and spirit of the past, the antiquated forms of the republic were incapable of any reconstructive effort. Some at least of Octavius's hearers may have been conscious of all this: others again, less far-sighted as politicians, may have looked not less deeply into the recesses of the human heart, and refused to believe in his sincerity. Nor were there wanting, perhaps, others who checked the acclamations which rose to

The Romans insist upon his retaining it.

their lips, through fear of deterring him from his purpose by the readiness of their acceptance. Meanwhile the agents who were acquainted, or believed themselves acquainted, with his real wishes, played upon the hopes, the fears, and the admiration of the multitude, and failed not to guide the popular sentiment into the channel to which he tacitly pointed. The senators with one voice entreated their magnanimous patron to retain the powers they had entrusted to him for their benefit. Either part was discreetly played; the illusion on each side duly felt or feigned; and when the chief actor came forward to acknowledge the plaudits of his audience and submit himself to the expressed wishes of the people, the curtain had already fallen upon the last scene of the revolutionary drama.

He is prevailed on to resume it for a term of ten years with proconsular power, and divides the government of the provinces with the senate.

The imperium or chief military command was thus thrust back upon Octavius; but he could only be prevailed on to accept it for a specified period of ten years. Neither in extent nor duration did this command imply a monarchical autocracy; nor was it so understood either by the nation or its chosen chief. What Octavius acquired by this pretended resignation was in fact simply a legal confirmation of his military authority in Rome and the provinces. But while he limited it in duration to a prescribed period, he also restricted it in extent to a certain portion of the national dominions. He selected from the list of the entire provinces such as from their position or character seemed most to require the vigour of military control. These he reserved for his own government; the rest he handed over to the senators, to be ruled by officers in their sole appointment. This division seemed to surrender to the senate the riches of the wealthiest portions of the empire, as well as those most easily governed; while the imperator assigned to himself

the harder and less grateful task of defending the least secure and bridling the most unruly. In resuming the government of these provinces for ten years he caused it to be understood that he hoped in that interval more effectually to protect or more thoroughly to subjugate them, and that he would be ready on its expiration to resign them once more and for ever. We shall see that the time for such resignation never actually arrived; the term of military command was periodically renewed throughout the life of its first holder; and even his successors, long after the perpetuity of their supreme authority was virtually guaranteed to them, still continued to preserve a memorial of its first establishment in the quinquennial or decennial festivals with which they repeatedly inaugurated it.[1] But the nascent emperor, if Octavius may now be so designated, obtained at least one conspicuous ensign of royalty in the formal institution of a guard of ten cohorts for his personal service, which was still more closely attached to him by double the legionaries' pay.[2]

Octavius assumes the title of Augustus.

The master and his subjects continued to rival each other in demonstrations of mutual confidence and self-sacrifice. But the favours of the one were specious and illusory, while those of the other, even when they seemed to refer only to names and titles, were, in fact, substantial realities. Octavius had warily declined any of the recognised designations of sovereign rule. Antonius had abolished the dictatorship; his successor respected the acclamations with which the people had greeted this decree. The voices which had saluted Cæsar with the title of king were peremptorily commanded to be dumb. Yet Octavius was fully aware of the influence which attached

[1] Dion, liii. 16.

[2] Dion, liii. 12.

to distinctive titles of honour. While he scrupulously renounced the names upon which the breath of human jealousy had blown, he conceived the subtler policy of creating another for himself, which, borrowing its original splendour from his own character should reflect upon him an untarnished lustre. Some of the counsellors to whom his secret wishes were communicated suggested to him the name of Quirinus or of Romulus. To assume the title of the divine author of the Roman race was too bold a step for the wariest of statesmen: but it is said that Octavius would gladly have accepted the designation of the founder of the city. But he remembered that the son of Rhea had been the first of a line of kings; and such an association of ideas might prove fatal to his policy. To the epithet Augustus, which was next proposed, no such objection could attach. The name was intact; it had never been borne by any man before, and Octavius required the influence of no other man's name to recommend his own. But the adjunct, though never given to a man, had been applied to things most noble, most venerable, and most divine. The rites of the gods were called *august*, the temples were *august;* the word itself was derived from the holy *auguries* by which the divine will was revealed; it was connected with the favour and *authority* of Jove himself. And courtly poets could play still further upon it, in strains which our language cannot faithfully re-echo, and pray for the Roman commander, that he might *increase* in years and *increase* in power.[1]

This illustrious title was bestowed upon the heir

[1] Dion, liii. 16.; Suet. *Oct.* 7.; Florus, iv. 12.; Ovid, *Fast.* i. 609.:

"Sancta vocant Augusta Patres: augusta vocantur
Templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu:
Hujus et augurium dependet origine verbi,
Et quodcunque sua Jupiter auget ope.
Augeat imperium nostri ducis, augeat annos."

of the Cæsarean empire in the middle of the month of January, 727, and thenceforth it is by the name of Augustus that he is recognised in Roman history. The exact day is given with some variation by the ancient authorities. The scientific chronologer Censorinus fixes it to the seventeenth, while Ovid, the poetical ritualist, assigns it to the thirteenth. Strange to say, an existing calendar discovers to us the sixteenth as the actual date; while Orosius, the Christian historian, anxious no doubt to find or make a synchrony between an epoch so important in the world's history and one of the most signal events recorded in his own creed, claims it for the sixth, on which the church celebrated the festival of the Epiphany.[1] It seems that the Augustan years, by which the later Romans sometimes calculated, were made for convenience sake to commence with the first day of the month; and thus the more correct epoch from which many historians dated the origin of the empire, being of no practical importance, was left to conjecture or fancy.

Augustus quits Rome and visits the provinces.

Not yet, however, did the princeps-imperator grasp the whole sphere of the functions of the destined monarchy of Rome. More than one stride remained to be taken before he could reach the summit of his ambitious designs, and place himself at the head of every order and interest in the state. In the mean time he gave way to no indiscreet haste. He allowed his new powers time to consolidate themselves, and become familiar to the people, before he sought still further to extend them. There was a vast system of administration to be organized; from the city itself to the furthest provinces there was

[1] Censorin. *de Die Natal.* 21.; Ovid, *Fast.* i. 587.; Kalendar. Prænestin. in Fast. Verrian. (Orelli, *Inscr.* ii. 382.) Oros. vi. 20.: "Octavo Idus Januarias quo nos Epiphania observamus."

no department of the government which did not require reform and reconstruction. Augustus committed the capital once more to the superintending vigilance of Agrippa and Mæcenas, while he undertook to visit in person the frontiers of the empire, and chastise the last disturbers of his universal peace. The exploits of his proconsular command in the provinces shall be recorded in another place; we are now hastening to complete the annals of his ascent to supremacy at home. It is enough at the present moment to say, that in the year 727 he threatened in the first instance a descent upon Britain, but the affairs of Gaul, and afterwards of Spain, detained him from so distant and barren an enterprise.[1] At the same time his legatus, Terentius Varro, was engaged in warfare with the mountaincers of the Graian Alps, and while Vinicius and Crassus avenged the majesty of the republic on the Germans and Dacians, Augustus remained in Spain, confined for the most part at Tarraco with sickness, through the two following years, in which, however, though absent from the city, he assumed an eighth and ninth consulship. Early in 730 he returned, crowned with laurels, his own or his officers[2], to Rome, and signalized the restoration of the peace of the empire by closing a second time the temple of Janus.[2]

Augustus on his return to Rome receives further favours from the people.

Even before he entered the walls his subservient senate had hastened to confirm with a solemn sanction the acts of his proconsulate. Augustus straightway reciprocated the compliment by refusing to discharge a promised largess to the people until he had obtained the consent of that illustrious order. Once more the

[1] This is the proposed invasion to which Horace refers, *Od.* i. 35. 29.:

"Serves iturum Cæsarem in ultimos
Orbis Britannos."

[2] Dion, liii. 26.; Oros. vi. 21.

senate responded by releasing its gracious master from the provisions of the Cincian law[1], an immunity which, as will be shown hereafter, has been extravagantly supposed to extend to the whole circle of the laws. A similar exemption from a particular enactment was granted at the same time to Marcellus the son of Octavia, and Tiberius the offspring of Livia by her first husband Tiberius Claudius Nero. The former of these youths, so nearly connected with Augustus, had attained his nineteenth year. He was released from the restrictions of the lex annalis, and allowed to sue for the consulship ten years before the legal period, while by a similar dispensation Tiberius, at this time eighteen years of age, was permitted to hold the great offices of the state five years earlier than the law allowed. At the same time the career of honours was opened to each; the one was designated for the ædileship, the other for the quæstorship.[2] The splendour of the imperium and the principate, thus reflected upon the nearest connexions of the chief of the commonwealth, served to lead men's minds gradually to the notion of hereditary succession; and another advance was made on the path which rose insensibly towards monarchy.

He is released from the "lex Cincia de muneribus."

His relatives are released from the "lex annalis."

This question of the succession must at this time have forced itself upon men's minds with peculiar urgency. The long and dangerous sickness under

[1] Dion. liii. 28. Comp. Noodt, *Diss. de Jure summi Imperii, &c.* in *Opp.* i. 629., ed. Barbeyrac, 1735. The difficulty respecting the lex Cincia (A. U. 550) which is supposed to have restricted the amount of gifts of property, arises from the enormous sums mentioned as gifts, especially by Pliny the younger, without any hint of such restriction. Savigny in his essay on the subject in the *Zeitschrift für Gesch. Rechtswissenschaft*, iv. 1., has discovered a plausible solution: but his additional remarks, *Vermischte Schriften*, i. 384., have thrown the whole question open again. The original limitation of the law may have become disregarded.

[2] Dion, *l. c.*

which Augustus had recently suffered in Spain, following several other attacks of hardly less violence in earlier years, could not fail to fill the Romans with the anticipation that his life would not be long protracted. The prospect of a vacancy in the place he occupied among them inspired them with unfeigned alarm. It was impossible not to forecast the troubles and perils into which the vessel of the state must drive when the pilot of the revolutionary storm should be lost to her. The appointment of a legitimate successor to the supreme power which he so ably wielded might seem the safest precaution for the expected crisis. But Augustus himself had encouraged no such arrangement. Cæsar had permitted the senate to decree that his imperatorial title should descend to the adopted heir of his fortunes; but Augustus had carefully abstained from claiming his uncle's title in virtue of his descent. While he asserted his right to the private property of the testator, and took upon himself the domestic obligations it involved, he had founded all his claims to preeminence on his services to the state and the favour of the people. During his absence in Spain Agrippa had wielded a delegated authority at home with his accustomed zeal and discretion. Much firmness and delicacy was no doubt required to control the fears and hopes which must have been excited in various quarters by the report of the imperator's sickness. Nor could Agrippa himself have contemplated the contingency of his death unmoved by conflicting passions. He must have felt that the price of succession lay near enough to tempt him to sue for it. The exalted position in which he was placed at Rome, must have offered opportunities no less than temptations. The enthusiasm of the Romans was easily kindled by the splen-

His dangerous sickness. Question of the succession.

Conspicuous position of Agrippa.

dour of public works and the munificence of their authors. It was during the breathless suspense of the protracted sojourn at Tarraco that the walls of the glorious Pantheon were rising in the Field of Mars. While the consulars and nobles vied with each other in repairing or erecting the shrines of particular divinities, Agrippa undertook to raise a single magnificent temple to the tutelary deities of the Julian house. This building still stands almost unchanged from its original form and arrangement. The most conspicuous place in the interior, fronting the entrance, is supposed to have been occupied by the image of Jupiter the Avenger, who had chastised the murderers of Cæsar; the principal niches on either side may have been filled with statues of Mars, Venus, and Romulus, of Æneas, Julus and Julius himself. It is possible that other gods and heroes may have stood in the spaces between them; but the name of Pantheon, or divine consistory, by which the building was known to posterity, is undoubtedly a misnomer, derived probably from its circular walls, its unusual height, and the ample dome which surmounted it. Such a form of construction was little in unison with the spirit of temple architecture; but it might remind the admiring worshipper, when his eye, whichever way it turned, encountered the image of a new divinity, of the palace of the Olympian deities suspended in the sky.[1] It is said that the courtly founder had reserved one niche

The Pantheon.

[1] See Fransden's *Agrippa*, p. 165. foll. The passages of the ancient writers respecting the destination of the Pantheon are Pliny, *H. N.* xxxvi. 15.; Dion. liii. 27.; Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 13.; Capitol. *Anton.* 8.; Serv. *ad Æn.* ix. 408. The inscription on the portico declares that it was erected in Agrippa's third consulship, A. U. 727; but Dion expressly says that it was finished in 729. The great feature of the Pantheon is the dome. It exceeds in span any of its modern rivals. The diameter of that of St. Paul's is stated to be 112 feet, of S. Sophia 115, of S. Peter's and the Duomo of Florence 139, and of the Pantheon 142.

for the figure of Augustus himself; but when this extravagant compliment was declined, he placed it on one side of the door of entrance, and erected his own statue as its companion on the other. This apparent assumption of equality may have had some significance in the mind of the favoured minister. Augustus himself was not unconscious, and even affected to approve of it. It can hardly have failed to suggest to the citizens the idea, that if the master were lost, the minister was at hand to supply his place. Agrippa possessed many qualifications for wielding the ensigns of command; he was conscious that he possessed them, and he let the people understand that he was so.

Augustus in his illness gives his ring to Agrippa.

If the imperator's return in safety to Rome dissipated any schemes of ambition thus gathering in the bosom of his friend, the recurrence of sickness still more virulent and more alarming than before, may have speedily revived them. In the year 731, when Augustus had entered upon his eleventh consulship in conjunction with Calpurnius Piso, he was stretched upon a couch from which all hope seemed to have fled.[1] He had summoned to his chamber all the great notables of the commonwealth. It was supposed that they were called to receive his last instructions, and the recommendation of Marcellus as successor to his public functions. But they were mistaken. He pretended to resign his trust at the last moment into the hands from which he had received it, and die in the austere discharge of an act of duty. After conferring with them for a space upon state affairs, he handed to his colleague Piso a schedule of the forces and resources of the republic[2], and at the same time delivered his seal-ring to Agrippa. Not a word did he utter. The bystanders interpreted the action to signify that he

[1] Dion, liii. 30.
[2] This is called by Suetonius (*Octav.* 28.) "Rationarium Imperii."

restored all the powers of the state to the civil authorities; but at the same time commended his minister to their choice, should they determine to confide them again to any single hand.

Augustus recovers. He declines the consulship, and accepts the "potestas tribunitia," A.U. 731, B.C. 23.

But the crisis was fortunately averted. Augustus recovered. His first care was to afford his subjects a more positive assurance that he had had no intention of naming a successor. He proposed to open his testament and show that he made no such appointment. But the fathers were shocked at his supposing they could require any fuller assurance of his magnanimous patriotism. They would not allow him to communicate to them the contents of the will. He responded to their confidence with further acts of generosity. He now resigned the consulship which he had borne for so many years consecutively, and even appointed in his place a conspicuous opponent of his policy, by name L. Sestius, who cherished the principles of his friend M. Brutus, to whose effigy he assigned a conspicuous place in his mansion. Augustus affected to admire such faithful attachment even in an enemy, and sought to convince the world that his government was administered by the noblest and best of whatever shade of political opinion. In return for this specious liberality his countrymen proceeded finally to invest him with the last element of power the state had yet to give. They conferred on him for life the potestas tribunitia, or privileges and functions of the tribunate[1]; not the tribunate itself, for that could not be legitimately held by a patrician.[2] The character of this extraordinary dignity will be explained in another place; it will suffice at present to say that it placed its possessor at once

[1] Dion, liii. 32. This writer had already stated that the tribunitian power was conferred upon Augustus for life in the year 724. (Comp. li. 19.) This we may presume was an error, as neither he nor any other writer affirms that Augustus resigned and reaccepted it.

[2] Dion, liii. 32.; Suet. *Oct.* 27.

at the head of the popular element in the constitution. It might serve in other hands as a counterpoise, in those of Augustus as a complement, to the powers he already wielded. It made him chief of the people as he had before become chief of the senate. If he was already commander of the legions, he was now supreme over the materials from which the legions were raised. At the same time some extension was given to the functions which he exercised as prince in the senate, or in his proconsular capacity in the provinces. He was permitted to exercise a certain paramount authority even over the prefects appointed by the senate in the half of the empire confided to its care. But the tribunitian power was still justly considered the keystone of the whole imperial edifice. From this period Augustus may deserve the title of emperor, and here accordingly may close our review of the steps by which he attained the summit of his power.

From henceforth he may be designated as emperor.

CHAPTER XXXI.

The imperial authority a combination of the prerogatives of several republican offices.—Their character and functions.—1. the imperium: 2. the principatus: 3. the consulship and proconsular command: 4. the potestas tribunitia: 5. the potestas consularis: 6. the supreme pontificate: 7. the emperor's legislative and judicial functions.—His edicts, rescripts and constitutions. —His exemptions from law.—The lex regia.—The name of Cæsar.

WE have followed through thirty chapters the eventful annals of the revolution which transferred the commonwealth of Rome from the rule of an oligarchy to that of a single potentate. We now enter upon the history of the imperial government from its permanent establishment by Augustus. In order to understand the transactions which we are about to review, it is necessary to obtain a clear conception of the nature of the constitution as it came from the plastic hands of the second of the Cæsars. The successive steps by which he acquired his various powers and prerogatives, distinct from and complementary to each other, have been already marked. It remains to examine each of these prerogatives in order, and ascertain as far as possible their precise nature and limits. When we have achieved this task we shall be in a position to comprehend the extent of the authority assumed by Augustus, and to trace by comparing one era with another, the progress of despotism through the ages that lie before us. We shall have weighed the real meaning of the old republican phrases and titles

The government formed by the combination of several distinct prerogatives.

which will still continue to meet us on every side; at the same time we shall have guarded ourselves from confounding names with things; we shall have distinguished legal sanctions from mere popular impressions, and drawn the veil from the self-delusions of the people and the impositions of the sovereign. But the examination will have been instructive, inasmuch as it will show that the system of the Roman empire with which the greatest monarchies of modern Europe have claimed affinity, recognises in its most solemn formulas the popular will as the foundation of political power, and repudiates alike the fantastic principles of patriarchal autocracy and of feudal sovereignty.

I. The imperium.

I. When the Roman fathers elected their king in the first ages of the national history, they made a decree in the assembly of their curies by which they surrendered to him certain rights over their own persons and wills. These were the prerogatives of proposing laws, of deciding suits, of commanding the armies, and of taking the auspices, that is, of performing the most solemn act of religious ceremonial. The main element of political freedom they still retained, in the right of discussing and rejecting the measures he proposed for their acceptance. The change from monarchical to republican government imposed no essential restrictions upon these royal prerogatives: the great safeguard of popular independence which was then invented was the division of the supreme authority between two colleagues and its limitation to a single year. The later institution of the tribunitian magistracy, as the guardian of the privileges of the plebs, was no restriction upon the consuls in their capacity as chiefs of the patricians, but only a guarantee for the liberties of the second order, which was rising in political importance, and had become impatient of the oppression of its rival.

The consul received the imperium on the day when he entered upon his office: in the first ages of the republic his distinctive appellation was prætor, a term which signified the leader of an army; and his first duty in almost every instance was to place himself at the head of the citizens, and take the field for the defence of their estates or the extension of their boundaries. But it was only in the field, and as soon as he had quitted the precincts of the city, that he acquired the title of imperator. His armed compatriots, on the first success obtained under his auspices, saluted him with the designation of military command, nor perhaps could he in strictness claim it until this formal salutation had taken place. But, at least in later times, he was known as imperator as soon as he put himself at the head of the troops, and the subsequent salutation on the field of victory was held to be a popular ratification by the soldiers of the choice which had been made in the comitia. The citizens had invested him with the imperium, and he had now proved himself worthy of their favour.

The consul is imperator only in the field.

As soon as the consul entered upon his military career he assumed certain symbols of command. The cloak of scarlet or purple which the imperator threw over his corselet was named the *paludamentum*, and this, which became in later times the *imperial robe*, he never wore except on actual service. When towards the close of the year he returned from the frontier to restore the armed citizens to their homes during the winter, and to surrender to a successor already designated in the summer the civil and military functions of the consulship, he laid aside the imperatorial garb, before entering the walls. The imperium which he bore within the city was more restricted than that which he was permitted to wield in

He laid aside the ensigns of command on entering the city.

the camp. The citizens when they met for deliberation in their assemblies rejected with indignation the stern discipline, and the power of the axe and the rod to which they cheerfully submitted in the face of the enemy. They were released from their sacrament or oath of obedience, and resumed along with their late commander the symbol of civil functions, the peaceful toga. This custom, strictly and jealously guarded throughout the best ages of the republic, admitted of one splendid exception. If the imperator had gained a victory which the senate deemed worthy of the honour of a triumph, the constitutional rule was relaxed for the occasion. After returning from the scene of his campaign, accompanied by his veterans, the successful general remained outside the walls till the preparations for the ceremony were complete. He then entered it by the triumphal gate, at the head of his troops, arrayed in the ensigns of military command, and pursued his way through the principal streets to the Capitol, where he offered the national sacrifice to Jupiter. As soon as the ceremony was completed, he disbanded the legions, and took his seat once more in the curule chair in the senate-house.

Except only in the case of a triumph.

In the course of years, however, when the frontiers of the empire became enlarged, and at the same time the civil duties of the first magistrates increased in weight and urgency, prætors, consulars, and others were deputed by the senate to lead the armies of the commonwealth at a distance from the city. The imperium, as far as regarded its exercise in the camp, was conferred upon them; they were invested with the prerogative of military command and discipline, with the right of arbitrating between the soldiers in camp, and of taking the auspices, without which no military operation could be duly conducted. The citizens

The proconsular imperium.

who were now enlisted under the banner of this special officer were required to take the oath of obedience to him as well as that of fidelity to the senate and people. It was apparently at the period of the second Punic war that the mutual engagement which at first the soldiers voluntarily made among themselves was changed into an oath exacted by the tribune in each cohort, and referred to the imperator and the state.

Extended over several provinces at once, as in the case of Sulla, Marius, and Pompeius.

A further change took place in the character of the imperium when the wide-spread interests of the republic required that the supreme military command should be confided to a generalissimo, the chief of many legions, quartered in several provinces and distributed along an extensive frontier line. The imperator directed the operations of these numerous armed bodies through his subordinate officers, each separate force of one or more legions being entrusted to a legatus or lieutenant-general. Such had been the far-reaching command of Sulla and Marius, and of others before them; and such was preeminently the command of Pompeius when the provisions of the Manilian and Gabinian laws gave him the supreme control of the public resources throughout the eastern half of the empire. Under these circumstances the soldiers of every legion still swore obedience to the commander-in-chief, though they might never have come personally under his orders. The legates were merely his representatives, to whom he delegated the functions necessary for conducting the operations he directed, and even the victories they gained were attributed solely to the valour of his arm, and the virtue of his auspices. Except in cases of special favour, the honours of the triumph were reserved for the commander-in-chief alone, and even the title of imperator was imparted to none but him.

Another step in the progress of military authority was the licence first assumed by Pompeius of remaining himself in the immediate vicinity of the capital, while he despatched his lieutenants to command the legions entrusted to him in distant povinces. He affected, indeed, to be occupied with the enlistment of recruits, and the collection of munitions of war: but the pretence was in truth merely nominal; it was well understood that his real object was to keep close to the centre of political action, and control by his immediate presence the course of affairs at home. Still he so far respected the prescriptions of the law as to abstain from entering the city, at least in public, during the exercise of his Spanish proconsular command. He might, indeed, come actually within the walls and confer privately with his friends, without exciting animadversion; but he could perform no public act, nor be seen to take part in the proceedings of the people in the forum, nor of the fathers in the senate, at least when they assembled in any hall or temple within the city. But in the time of Pompeius Rome had in more than one quarter outgrown the lines traced by Servius. Many public and private buildings lay without the hallowed precincts of the pomœrium, and the movement of the population was almost as busy in the Field of Mars as in the Velabrum or Suburra. Already skilled in evading the spirit of the constitution, the senate was wont to seek the advice and animating presence of its champion by meeting in the temple of Bellona, whither the imperator might repair without violating its letter. It was by availing himself of this technical subterfuge that Pompeius contrived to maintain himself at the head of the domestic administration of the state, during the period of Cæsar's absence in Gaul, without relaxing his hold upon her military resources.

Pompeius as proconsul assumes the licence of remaining in the neighbourhood of Rome, and deputes his command to lieutenants.

and thus he had doubly fortified himself against the anticipated attack of his antagonist.

Cæsar, on the other hand, disdained to temporize, or manage by vain pretences the people who had submitted to his sway. His rival had, in effect, reigned almost as despotically as a king, while he preserved an outward show of obedience to recognised forms; he would reign openly and fearlessly, and inaugurate a new government of facts and not phrases. He assumed the title of imperator with a new force and meaning attached to it. He adopted it as a constant prefix to all his other appellations, bearing it equally within and without the city. While in fact he released his veterans from personal attendance upon him, and declined even the escort of a guard of honour, he openly avowed himself the perpetual commander of the national armies, and vaunted his military supremacy as the noblest addition to his name. The functions of dictator he assumed to enable him to reform abuses, and remodel the laws; but those of imperator he grasped as the source of all real power and the appropriate reward of his unparalleled desert in warfare. It may be conjectured that it was during his usurpation that the tribunes struck the names of the senate and people from the formula of the legionaries' oath, and caused them to vow fidelity to their imperator alone. Certain it is that before the end of a century the oath had been thus mutilated, and it is difficult to imagine that such an innovation would have been attempted by the more politic of his successors, or permanently respected by the senate, if introduced by tyrants whom it detested and whose acts it abrogated after their deaths.[1]

Cæsar assumes the "prænomen imperatoris," and makes himself perpetual imperator.

[1] Tac. *Hist.* i. 55. (A.U. 823, A.D. 70): "Senatus pop. que Rom. obliterata jam nomina sacramento advocabant."

The proconsular imperium of the second triumvirate.

The imperium had been conferred upon Octavius by a decree of the senate, when he took up arms in conjunction with the consuls to protect Decimus Brutus against his assailant. He had been saluted imperator by his victorious legions under the walls of Mutina. Throughout the various campaigns which he conducted in Macedonia and Pannonia, in Dalmatia and Egypt, he had exercised no other than the proconsular functions. In virtue of the triumviral commission which gave him the government of one third part of the empire, he had acted as the commander-in-chief of various armies under numerous lieutenants. This same commission had invested him moreover with extraordinary powers for the reformation of the government at home; and he marched as he listed up and down the city, and brandished his sword without scruple in the precincts of law and justice. It was an age of revolutions, and none ventured to ask whether the commission were legal, or whether it were legally discharged. The senate greeted the victor of Actium with the complete ratification of all his acts; and from thenceforth both master and subjects vied with each other in striving to bury the past in oblivion. From that happy era of reconciliation and amnesty the conqueror studied to represent himself as in all things the servant and instrument of the state. While he accepted the title of imperator as a perpetual prefix to his names and titles, after his uncle's example, and thus asserted, in the spirit of the old traditions, the military basis of the national polity, he nevertheless abstained from assuming the ensigns of command within the city. Augustus never appeared in the senate or before the people in the garb of an imperator. He never maintained a legionary garrison within the city. He left it to his successor to establish a camp of prætorian cohorts within the walls, and contented himself

with the personal service of a mere handful of body-guards. Nevertheless, as generalissimo of the Roman armies he controlled the operations of the legions throughout the provinces; he appointed all their officers, and made them strictly subordinate to himself. For a moment indeed the policy of Augustus wavered in this particular. He allowed Carrinas to triumph in conjunction with himself, and two years afterwards Crassus and Messala exhibited in the Capitol the spoils of Thrace and Aquitania. But from the year 727 the highest honours of the profession of arms were closed against the lieutenants of the commander-in-chief, and by a bold fiction the reward of their victories was conferred upon the emperor himself, under whose auspices they were reputed to have gained them. By an act of grace on his part, he divided the command of the provinces between himself and the people represented by the senate. He reserved, as we have seen, for his own direct control the regions which from their position on the frontiers, or from the temper of their population, seemed most liable to disturbance from within or from without. The imperial provinces were the Tarraconensis and Lusitania in Spain, the whole of Gaul beyond the Alps, the two Germanies, or districts bordering on the Rhine, in the West; and in the East Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia with Cyprus, and Egypt. To the senate he resigned the more peaceful regions of Africa, Numidia, Cyrenaica, Asia, Bithynia, Pontus, Achaia, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Sicily and Crete, Sardinia, and Bætica. The scanty military forces required to keep these in subjection were headed by officers appointed by the senate. But the position of these officers and their troops was an object of jealousy to the emperors. It was rarely that they were afforded an opportunity of obtaining a triumph; but the last instance, it may be remarked, of saluting with the title of imperator occurred in the case of a

senatorial proconsul in Africa.[1] Meanwhile the emperor became more and more distinctly recognised as the generalissimo of the whole military force of the state. It was to him accordingly, and not to his lieutenants, that the military oath was taken. If Cæsar had permitted the names of the senate and people to drop from the prescribed formulas, it may be supposed that Augustus would not insist upon their being reinserted, and accordingly they fell into complete desuetude. Sufficient respect was deemed to be paid to these empty names by the initials S. P. Q. R., which still continued to represent them on the imperial banners.[2]

The military oath of obedience taken to the emperor as general of the armies.

The military oath was originally imposed upon those only who were actually engaged in service, and was administered immediately before their taking the field. But when the provinces came to be permanently occupied with standing armies, it became usual to repeat the ceremony every year on the calends of January: under the emperors it was further exacted on the anniversaries of their birth and accession. But as every Roman citizen of competent age was deemed liable to military service, and as, at least in the provinces, the greater part of the Roman residents were actually invested with military rank and charged with some corresponding functions, the custom gradually extended from the soldiers duly enlisted to the mass of the citizens,

[1] Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 74.: "Tiberius . . . . id quoque Blæso tribuit ut imperator a legionibus salutaretur. . . . concessit et quibusdam Augustus id vocabulum, at tunc Tiberius Blæso postremum."

[2] The names of the senate and people were never, as far as we know, restored. In the Christian period the formula became: "Per Deum et per Christum et per Spiritum Sanctum et per majestatem Imperatoris." Veget. ii. 1. I may observe that I was first led to study the character of the imperial government from perusing De la Bleterie's ingenious essays on the subject in the *Mémoires de l'Académie d'Inscriptions*, tom. xxi. xxiv. xxv. xxvii., and to him I owe a great portion of these remarks.

and from the citizens to the provincials. Thus we find that even under the earlier successors of Augustus, the custom prevailed of binding the whole mass of the subjects to the allegiance of the emperor by the sanction of an oath repeated at least once every year.[1] Still a peculiar feeling seems to have lingered in the minds of the best instructed Romans, which forbade them to address or allude to their ruler by his military title, except strictly in reference to his military capacity. It is observed that the elder Pliny never speaks of emperors before his own time as imperators. It was as Cæsars or Princes, as members of a particular family, or as invested with a civil title, that they were more properly known to him and to the citizens in general. But when he refers to Vespasian, or his son Titus, he uses the term imperator; because as admiral of their fleet at Misenum, he recognised in them his military superiors.[2] In the same manner, one generation later, the younger Pliny, who was proconsul of Bithynia, with military command, addresses Trajan as imperator also.[3]

II. The title of "princeps senatus."

II. As the title of imperator conferred the highest military rank upon Augustus and his successors, so did that of *princeps senatus*, or *princeps* (as it came to be expressed by an easy but material abridgment), convey the idea of the highest civil preeminence

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 7.: "S. Pompeius et S. Appuleius Coss. primi in verba Tiberii juravere; mox senatus milesque et populus, xvi. 22. Principio anni vitare Thrasea solenne jusjurandum." Comp. Plin. *Ep* x. 50.

[2] Pliny the elder addresses Vespasian in the preface to his great work as "Jucundissime imperator."

[3] Plin. *Ep.* x. 1, 3.: "Imperator sanctissime imperator optime." But he more commonly used the term *dominus*, which evinces a great degeneracy of feeling. Ovid contrasts Romulus with Augustus (*Fast.* ii. 142.):

"Vis tibi grata fuit; florent sub Cæsare leges:
Tu domini nomen, principis ille tenet."

consistent with the forms of the old constitution. In ancient times this title had been appropriated to the first in succession of living censorii, men who had served the office of censor; and such were necessarily patricians and senators.[1] The sole privilege it conferred was that of speaking first in the debates of the senate; a privilege however to which considerable importance might attach from the exceeding deference habitually paid to authority and example by the Roman assemblies. The age of the princeps, and the weight of his personal character, for none but men venerable for their probity could be appointed censors at all, invested his position with peculiar dignity. When the qualification of age or priority was relaxed it was only in favour of a more illustrious reputation. In the year 544 (B.C. 210) the consul, in making the appointment which was vested in his office, claimed the privilege of selection from among the censorii. He chose Fabius Maximus: *Fabius*, he said, *is the first of the Romans, as Hannibal himself would allow.*[2] This deviation from the established custom became a precedent for later times. The names of some of the distinguished personages who attained this honourable post have been preserved to us. Among the most illustrious is that of M. Æmilius Lepidus, the great-great-grandfather of Lepidus the triumvir, who was reappointed six times at successive lustrums. In the decline of the commonwealth a graceful tribute was still paid to public virtue in the appointment of Æmilius Scaurus; but the most celebrated and not the least respected of the list was Lutatius Catulus, whose position at the head of the senatorial oligarchy has been signalized at the outset of this history.

[1] Liv. xxvii. 11.: "Ut qui primus censor ex iis qui viverent fuisset, eum principem legerent."

[2] Liv. *l. c.*

The title of prince of the senate fell into abeyance after the death of Catulus in the year 694. The functions of the censorship had been interrupted and with one exception suspended during the lives of a whole generation. But the authority of the dictator or triumvir reigned paramount in a subservient senate, and required no aid from the indirect influence of private estimation. It was the policy however of Augustus to lead the senate, the chosen instrument of his will, by indirect agency, and the functions of the censorship which he had exercised, though under another title, might furnish a pretext for allowing this principate or leadership to be conferred upon himself. The title of princeps was modest and constitutional; it was associated with the recollection of the best ages of the free state and the purest models of public virtue; it could not be considered beyond the deserts of one who was undoubtedly the foremost man of the nation. Nor was it altogether without some solid advantages. Although it implied the holding of no magistracy or direct power of any kind, it is easy to conceive the influence which a person in the place of Augustus might indirectly exercise through it. On the one hand it connected its bearer with the aristocratical party, the despised and broken remnant of which might again raise its head under the patronage of the same chief who had effected its overthrow. On the other hand it might serve no less as a guarantee to the still jealous democracy, that their faithful champion would guide their adversaries into the paths of equity and public virtue. It was more particularly valuable to the founder of the empire, who wished to preserve the semblance of free discussion in the first assembly of the commonwealth, from the legitimate means it gave him of expressing his own sentiments upon every question before the

Importance of this title to Augustus.

members should be committed by discussion to any other. It saved both parties from the risk of collision for it afforded to the creatures of the empire the fairest excuse for following in the wake of so high an authority, while it precluded its foes from declaring their opinions, before the ruler's real views could be known or the support on which he could rely be correctly estimated. The popularity which the assumption of this republican title conferred upon the early emperors may be inferred from the care with which it is noted, and its constitutional functions referred to by the writers of the Augustan age and that which succeeded it.[1]

Its signification is extended under the emperors.

But it was an easy and natural step in the progress of political ideas to drop the application of the title, and contract it from prince of the senate, to prince merely. The original character of the appellation was soon forgotten, and the proper limits of its privileges confounded in the more vague and general prerogative which the bare designation of

[1] Compare Tacitus, *Annal.* i. 1.: "Non Cinnæ non Sullæ longa dominatio; et Pompeii Crassique potentia cito in Cæsarem, Lepidi et Antonii arma in Augustum cessere; qui cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa nomine Principis sub imperium accepit." Again, "Non regno neque dictatura sed principis nomine constitutam rempublicam," and *Hist.* i. 4.: "Vulgato imperii arcano posse Principem alibi quam Romæ fieri." Sueton. *Calig.* 22.: "Nec multum abfuit quin statim diadema sumeret, speciemque principatus in regni formam converteret." See also c. 31.; Plin. *Paneg.* 9.: "Ut non obsequereris principi civis, legatus imperatori, filius patri;" and again, c. 55.: "Hic regnum .... arcet atque submovet, sedemque principis obtinet, ne sit domino locus." See also Ovid, *l. c.* Later writers confound the terms princeps and imperator without scruple. Vopiscus, *Tacit.* 7.: "Vos sanctissimi milites et sacratissimi vos quirites habetis principem:" and again, "Vos sanctissimi commilitones qui scitis principem approbare .... Exercitus sine principe ...." Even the jurist Gaius, in the age of the Antonines, gives the emperor his military title while speaking of him strictly in his civil capacity, in which he issued his constitutions or decrees: "Constitutio principis est quod imperator decreto vel edicto vel epistola constituit." But these constitutions continued to be correctly designated as *Principales.* There were no constitutiones *Imperatoriæ.*

first or premier seemed to imply. While the commonwealth was still free, Cicero might with innocence and propriety style Pompeius the prince or foremost man of all ages and nations[1]; but when applied to Augustus and his successors, such a phrase could not fail to acquire a grave technical significance.[2] Accordingly we shall find that Tiberius, the second prince of the imperial regime, careful and accurate as he was in his use of political terms, assumed without remark that this distinction implied a supreme authority, having no definite or peculiar object, but extending to a general superintendence over every magistracy in the state. *My station,* he said in a letter to the senate, *is not that of an ædile, a prætor or a consul; let those magistrates confine themselves to the exercise of their special functions, and labour for the common weal each in their own province; wider and loftier are the duties which devolve upon the prince; he must lead the way in proposing measures for the general good of the state, for the correction of manners, and the cure of political diseases.*[3] If such was the monarchical view of the principate taken by Tiberius, we may suppose that the original limitation of its functions was speedily obliterated, and that even the most moderate and constitutional of succeeding emperors, such as Trajan and the Antonines, would not seek to restore it in the spirit of the past. It is recorded, however, of Pertinax, who ascended the throne as the nominee and champion of the senate

[1] Cic. *pro Dom.* 25., *ad. Div.* i. 9. 4. Velleius applies a similar phrase both to Pompeius and Crassus.

[2] The grandsons of Augustus, Caius, and Lucius obtained the title of Principes Juventutis, a designation originally given to the first or most distinguished of the knights, the three hundred youths whom Romulus selected for his body-guard. In the *Consolatio ad Liviam* (v. 356.), attributed to Pedo Albinovanus, the wife of Augustus is complimented with the title of Princeps Romana.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 53.

itself, that he revived the ancient and popular title of prince of that assembly; from which we may infer that, in his time, it had long fallen into desuetude, and was only restored as a measure of policy to fortify a precarious claim to power.[1]

III. The consulship under the republic.

III. Emperor, king, and prince, are the titles by which the nations of modern Europe have generally agreed to designate the possessors of sovereign authority: but while the early Romans rejected with horror the ideas of autocratic domination which they attached to the appellation of king, they carefully disjoined from the empire or the principate any notion of civil supremacy. The Roman imperator was strictly, as we have seen, the commander of the armies; the princeps was the most illustrious and most honoured of the senators. But the supreme magistracy within the city was that of the consulship. As long as the consuls, says Polybius, are resident within the city they enjoy supreme power in all public affairs. All the other magistrates, excepting only the tribunes, are subordinate to their authority. They admit foreign ambassadors to audience; they propose matters for deliberation to the senate. The decrees of that body are executed by their hands. Further, it is the consuls that convoke the assemblies of the people, submit measures to their decision, and provide for the fulfilment of their pleasure.[2] He proceeds to declare that they are also supreme in military affairs; but in the later ages of the republic the consuls seldom quitted the city for the camp, and the armies were led by the proconsuls in the provinces. But although they surrendered to their deputies the command of the troops, they lost no portion of their

[1] Xiphilin (*epit. Dion.* lxiii. 5.): *καὶ ἔλαβε τάς τε ἄλλας ἐπικλήσεις καὶ προσηκούσας, καὶ ἑτέραν ἐπὶ τῷ δημοτικὸς εἶναι βούλεσθαι· πρόκριτος γὰρ τῆς γερουσίας κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπωνομάσθη.*

[2] Polyb. vi. 12.

dignity and preeminence at home. The administration of the public revenues, though collected by the quæstors, resided in the consuls themselves. They inherited from the kings the prerogative of administering the laws: but these functions were shared in some degree with the tribunes, and gradually transferred to the prætors, till in process of time the consuls abandoned the bench of justice altogether; and confined their cares to the other important offices they had to discharge.

So wide a jurisdiction and so enviable a dignity might have been easily perverted to the re-establishment of tyranny. The Romans guarded against this danger by dividing the power and limiting its duration; but the spirit and resolution of the people were the firmest bulwark of their liberties. In course of time it was thought necessary to provide further that no consul should be re-elected except after an interval of ten years[1]; but this jealous regulation was infringed within half a century.[2] Nevertheless it was well kept on the whole, till first the splendid successes of Marius against Jugurtha, and afterwards the peril of the state during the eruption of the Cimbri, induced the Romans to disregard it; and the champion of the commons enjoyed six consulships in the course of eight years.[3] The precedent was readily adopted by the revolutionary chieftains of the disastrous times that followed. A Cinna, a Carbo, and a Sulla extorted the office, the two former more than once, within the period prescribed by

[1] Liv. vii. 42. A.U. 413. This restriction was extended to all other magistracies.

[2] Q. Fabius Maximus and P. Decius Mus were re-elected more than once at shorter intervals than ten years. Livy records the circumstances as regards the former in the year 453; but this was not a solitary instance.

[3] Marius was consul I. A.U. 647, and five times consecutively in the years 650—654. His seventh consulship took place after an interval of thirteen years, A.U. 668.

law. From the death of Sulla there is no instance of its violation, till the extraordinary crisis occurred which induced the people to appoint Pompeius sole consul to coerce the contending factions of the city. The usurpation of Julius Cæsar introduced a new era in this as in other respects. He exercised four of his five consulships in the course of the last five years of his career. Neither the prefixed title of imperator nor even the perpetual dictatorship superseded in his estimation the political importance of this republican dignity. He clung to it even while he seemed most regardless of its degradation by the numbers whom he thrust into it for a few months or days only. Even while the senate and people lavished upon him the most brilliant ensigns of personal preeminence, he seems to have grasped with insatiate avidity all the pomp and circumstance which belonged officially to the consulship. The Romans, childishly fond of shows and decorations for their own sake, were peculiarly attached to those associated with the national traditions; and it was hard to persuade them, when they gazed upon the robed and laurelled figure of the consul seated on the ivory-mounted chair, that they were not still living under the free institutions of which he was in their eyes the symbol and the pledge.

Usurped by Julius Cæsar.

Octavius, from the camp before Mutina, had demanded the vacant consulship on the death of Hirtius and Pansa; which the senate, upon whom the right of nomination in such an emergency devolved, had ventured to refuse him. He approached the city at the head of his soldiers, and the desertion of the legions in which the assembly confided rendered all further resistance fruitless. In the year 711 Octavius became consul for the first time. It would appear that he scrupled to associate the highest ordinary magistracy of the state with the

Numerous and successive consulships of Octavius.

extraordinary functions of the triumvirate, and after entering on a second consulship, on the calends of January 721, he resigned it again the same day. Two years afterwards, when the term of the triumvirate had expired, he exercised a third consulship, and from that time forward he caused himself to be annually re-elected for eight years successively. While the show of popular suffrage was still preserved, effectual means were doubtless taken to deter any candidate from proposing himself without the sanction of the virtual ruler of the state, and Augustus continued to nominate himself and whomsoever else he chose as his colleague, assigning him generally only a portion of the year, and filling his place with more than one supplementary appointment.

After 731 he declines to accept the consulship.

But the dignity of the perpetual consul, who wielded a substantial power and carried on a deliberate policy, must have derived additional lustre from this contrast with his fleeting and shadowy colleagues. Augustus, though constantly desired to renew his term of office, and yielding professedly to the gentle urgency of his admiring compatriots, seems to have had some misgiving that his position was too nearly allied to royalty. After the year 731 he declined to resume the consulship. He proposed to visit the provinces and make a lengthened progress through the distant parts of the empire. The principles of his administration, which promised to combine the security of the subject with efficiency in the executive, required to be fixed throughout the dependencies of the state by the same temperate hand, and under the same experienced eye, which had established them firmly at the centre of government. But so illustrious a personage could not quit the city except in the character of a great public officer. He could not leave behind him the privileges and powers which befitted the saviour, the reformer, and the defender

of the commonwealth. The consul of past years might have assumed the government of a proconsular province on resigning his functions in the city. But it was not to any single province that the care of Augustus was to be confined. A proconsular imperium of far wider extent had been entrusted under the republic to the most distinguished champions of the state. The instance of Pompeius has been frequently referred to. The command entrusted by the senate to Cassius at a later period had been of similar character. He had been constituted supreme over the governors of all the eastern provinces. These commands were assigned for a special purpose, and extensive as they were, they were nevertheless strictly defined. Not so however the proconsular imperium, which was now granted to Augustus. It was limited to no special purpose; it was extended over all the provinces both imperial and senatorial; and it was declared at once perpetual. It gave him throughout the domains of the republic the control of the revenues, the disposal of the armies, the execution of the laws, the administration of internal reforms, and the adjustment of foreign relations. The senate indeed still retained the appointment of officers in its own division of the empire; but these officers found themselves accountable in every public act to the imperator himself, and doubtless he maintained and brandished over their heads the power of directing, punishing, and displacing them.

Augustus receives proconsular authority throughout the empire.

IV. While Augustus was meditating the surrender of the consular supremacy he had so long enjoyed, his countrymen proposed to confer upon him for life the prerogatives of the tribunate. The coincidence of these circumstances may have been more than accidental. From the moment he ceased to be consul Augustus would lose the important privilege of initiating legal

IV. The "potestas tribunitia."

measures in the senate. The commons would doubtless have delighted to appoint him tribune, and in that capacity he might have proposed measures to the comitia of the tribes, and have superseded in effect the action of the more aristocratical assembly. But there were grave objections to such a course. Augustus, since he had become a patrician, could not with propriety occupy a place on the tribunitian bench, which was reserved exclusively for the plebeian order. Neither did it comport with his policy to raise the commons into an effective instrument of government. He had discouraged and almost suppressed the meetings of their capricious and turbulent assembly, and now sought to rule through the senate alone, which he could more easily direct or coerce. Hitherto he had guided his subservient legislators from the consul's chair: henceforth it became requisite that he should have the means of controlling them from the level of their own benches. The tribunitian power, which was now conferred upon him without the office, placed in his hands precisely the instrument he required. By the interposition of his veto he could compel the rejection of any measure he disliked; and if he divested himself of the prerogative of proposing legislative enactments, he assumed in compensation the right to prohibit them.

It confers inviolability on the emperor.

Such was the most substantial element of the tribunitian power; but its importance to Augustus was not confined to a single privilege. While the relation of the Plebs to the Patres had been radically changed since the first institution of the tribunate, the old associations attaching to that office still conspired to endear it to the mass of the nation. Even in the latter troubles of the republic, when the tribunes were often the hired agents of the oligarchy, the popular

sentiment had seldom failed to applaud the exercise of their veto when they stepped forward to obstruct the proceedings of the senate. The people had greeted Clodius and Metellus with acclamations not less hearty than those which saluted the ears of Antonius and Curio. They still venerated the tribunes as the guardians of their rights, and the pledges of their social privileges, and they mustered in all their strength to protect their persons and assert their inviolability. Accordingly, in assuming the tribunitian power, Augustus, the commander of the legions and the organ of the senate, laid claim to the favour and admiration of the commons. Even while he silenced the voice of their demagogues, and coldly conceded to them a mere shadow of popular suffrage, he still vaunted himself their legitimate protector, and pretended to throw himself between them and the traditional oppressors of their class, the patrician oligarchy.[1]

They date the years of their reign by the years of their holding this power.

It was the policy of the founder of the empire to rest his authority on the presumed will of the nation. In the view of the Romans a king ruled by virtue of his own sole will and pleasure, a dictator by the authority of a privileged order; but the tribunitian power was the organ of the people itself, which it placed in the hands of its chosen champion. In either case the authority itself, at least while it lasted, was supreme, absolute and irresponsible; it was legitimate or odious, popular or tyrannical, according to the source from whence it sprang. In the second century of the empire, Tacitus represents the tribunitian power as a designation of sovereignty, equivalent to the rejected titles of king or dictator, by which the emperor crowned all his other offices and

[1] Tac. *Ann.* i. 2.: "Ad tuendam plebem tribunitio jure contentum (se ferens)," a passage already referred to at the beginning of the last chapter.

prerogatives.[1] Impressed with this idea Augustus and his successors always carefully inscribed the tribunitian title on their coins and monuments. They insisted that it should be formally renewed to them every year, and counted the duration of their tenure of power not by the period they had held the imperium or the principate, but by the number of times the power of the tribunate had been conferred upon them.[2]

Appellate jurisdiction of the tribune.

The protection which the tribunate afforded to the commons was not confined to the obstruction of proceedings in the senate prejudicial to their interests. The tribune was always on the watch to relieve a plebeian from an oppressive exercise of the powers of any other magistracy.[3] He could control the inquisition of the censors into the lives and manners of the citizens, quash judicial proceedings, forbid the prætor's execution of a judicial sentence; nor was he compelled to assign any reason for his peremptory interposition.[4] There were two kinds of appeal by which the Roman citizen might stay the hostile proceedings of a civil magistrate; the one was to the people, the other to the tribune himself. The powers of the

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 56.: "Id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus reperit, ne regis aut dictatoris nomen assumeret, ac tamen appellatione aliqua cætera imperia præmineret."

[2] The emperors dated their tribun. potestas from the day it was first conferred; *e.g.* in the case of Augustus, June 27, 731. The title is preserved on the medals of all the earlier emperors, and the year of the trib. pot. is usually added, which is equivalent to the year of the reign, except when the emperor was associated in the trib. pot. during the lifetime of his predecessor. Thus the date of a coin of Tiberius, Tib. Cæs. Aug. P. P. trib. pot. xxxv = the twentieth year of his reign. From the year 1021 of the city, 268 of our era, the title first ceases to occur regularly on the imperial medals.

[3] The tribunate was not, in strictness, a magistracy, and did not possess the imperium, Plut. *Qu. Rom.* 84.; but in the later ages of the republic the term was very generally applied to it. Comp. Cic. *cont Rull.* ii. 5., and Vell. ii. 2.

[4] Walter, *Gesch. des Römischen Rechts*, p. 172.

guardian of the plebs extended indeed only one mile beyond the walls; but within those limits they were sure to be respected; he was not permitted to be absent a single day from the city, and his doors must stand open at all hours to those who wanted to implore his succour. He claimed the power of inflicting imprisonment and even death on any one, even the highest magistrate, who should resist him in the discharge of his functions; his attendant ministers had been known to arrest even a consul or a censor, and on one occasion he had hurried the first magistrate of the state to the Tarpeian rock, and would have cast him headlong forthwith, had he not been prevented by the interposition of a colleague. In fact it was only by the mutual jealousies and conflicting interests of the ten members of the tribunitian college, whom the senate was always careful to play off against each other, that any limits were set to the jealous despotism of the office. To crown the prerogatives of the tribunate, the person of its possessors was declared sacred, and its sanctity was held to be violated not by deeds only but even by opprobrious language. The sovereign people threw around its champions the garb of its own majesty, and when the tribunes took refuge from the consular menaces in the camp of Cæsar they carried with them the indignant sympathy of the insulted nation.

Right of protection and pardon assumed by the emperors.

Such were the mighty functions and prerogatives which the Romans confided to Augustus, or rather transferred to him when they bestowed upon him the tribunitian power. They were transferred to him from the legitimate tribunes; for though the ordinary office of tribune still continued to exist, its political importance was surrendered to the possessor of the extraordinary title. Nor were these prerogatives checked, as heretofore, by any of the safeguards

which the people had raised against their flagrant abuse. They were no longer limited to a single year, nor counterpoised by the rivalry of a bench of colleagues; the restriction by which they were locally confined was soon relaxed, and rendered indefinite; the appeal to the people became merged in that to the emperor alone; the right of protection was exchanged for the prerogative of pardon; and finally the sanctity of the tribune himself was extended by an indulgent interpretation to the mere effigy of the emperor in his statues or on his coins. The law of treason, by which the ancient legislators of the republic had sought to protect popular liberty from the encroachments of tyranny, and which had been applied at a later period to enhance the dignity of the officers who reflected the majesty of the nation, was gradually concentrated upon the emperor alone, the sole impersonation of the sovereign people.[1] The definition of the crime itself was loose and elastic, such as equally became the jealousy of a licentious republic, or of a despotic usurper. The emperors surrounded themselves with a host of parasites who stimulated and directed the sentiment of veneration attaching to their exalted position, and gradually diverted it from their office and fixed it on their persons. From the sanctity of the tribunes to the divinity of the Cæsars was a long stride in public opinion; but the first century of adulation made it easy and practicable.

The law of treason or "majestas."

V. Some at least of the powers of the tribunate had been accorded to Julius Cæsar and afterwards to Augustus himself as early as the period of his victory over Sextus. On his return from Asia in 725 he was

V. Events which led to conferring on Augustus the "potestas consularis."

[1] Cicero, *de Invent. Rhetor.* ii. 18: "Majestatem minuere est dignitate aut amplitudine aut potestate populi, aut eorum quibus populus potestatem dedit, aliquid derogare." The jurists continued to give a similar definition under the empire: "Majestas est crimen illud quod

again invested, according to Dion, with the tribunitian prerogatives. It seems probable that the historian was misled by finding mention made in his authorities of some particular instance in which the imperator had been allowed to obstruct a decree of the senate, or extend his protection to an appellant. The power which was bestowed upon him in 731 is generally referred to as the keystone of the imperial arch, and from this era the establishment of the monarchy is most properly dated. This power, divested as it practically was of the direct limitations under which it had been wielded by the tribunes of the republic, could not fail to clothe its possessor with prerogatives utterly inconsistent with civil liberty, besides casting upon him an impression of personal sanctity, which must tend to elevate him more and more above the ranks of the citizens. Nevertheless, the existence of independent magistrates of the highest class, such as the consuls, could not fail to impose restraint upon his action and detract from the splendour of his preeminence. In circumstances of the last emergency, when the senate fulminated its *ultimate decree*, requiring the consuls to *see that the state suffered no harm,* those magistrates received unlimited authority over the citizens of all sorts and conditions within Rome or beyond it, under pretext of which they had been known to inflict condign chastisement even upon the tribunes themselves. As long therefore as this awful weapon remained sheathed in the armoury of the senate, even the emperor could not feel himself really supreme. But Augustus, as we have seen, shrank from the annual assumption of the consulship to which the people continued to invite him. He renounced the trabea and the fasces at the close of the year 731, and declared that he would retire from

adversus pop. Rom. et securitatem ejus committitur." Ulpian, in *Digest.* xlviii. tit. 4. 1. There will be occasion to examine this subject more closely hereafter.

the supreme administration of the state which their possession implied. No sooner, however, had he descended from the curule chair than the city was visited with a series of calamities. Famine was succeeded by pestilence, and an inundation of the Tiber swept away some of the holiest monuments of the national religion.[1] Prodigies were announced which filled the multitude with the apprehension of still greater evils. The people murmured against their hero, whose retirement from the helm of state was manifestly displeasing to the gods, and they denounced their own supineness in allowing him to abdicate the consulship. They assembled in angry crowds and urged the senate to create him dictator. The senate deliberated, and the multitude, in their impatience, threatened to reduce the curia to ashes. The senate acquiesced, and the people seized the fasces of the two consuls[2], and rushing with them to Augustus, entreated or insisted that he should accept absolute power for the restoration of the public safety, together with the care of supplying the city, such as had been forced in a similar emergency upon Pompeius. But the fixed resolve of the imperator was not even then to be overcome. He tore his robe and bared his breast to the multitude, while he stoutly refused to accept an arbitrary and hateful office which even his rival, the arrogant Antonius, had proposed to abolish.[3] He could only be induced

[1] Dion. liv. 1. The critics have generally referred the ode of Horace, *Od.* i. 2., to this event; but I am disposed to agree with Orelli that it relates to an earlier period, perhaps A.U. 725. The application of the word princeps to Augustus at this early date is no objection, for it is not used in the sense of princeps senatus, but generally, as by Propertius, iv. 6. 46.:

"Principe te fluctus regia vela pati."

[2] The consuls had each twelve fasces, the dictator twenty-four, inasmuch as during his six months of office, he superseded the consular magistracy.

[3] Dion, *l. c.*; Vell. ii. 89.; Suet. *Oct.* 52.: "Genu nixus, dejecta ab humeris toga nudo pectore deprecatus est."

to accept the charge of relieving the scarcity; nor would he allow himself to be invested with the functions of the censorship, which were again proffered to him. But he caused two functionaries to be appointed to institute the census of the people, and these were the last private citzens who ever discharged that office which in later times was almost always performed by the emperors themselves. The enumeration of the people was a solemn and religious ceremony, which befitted the personage of highest consideration in the state.

Conspiracies against Augustus.

The transport of popular despair was thus calmed; but the person of the beneficent hero who could alone avert impending calamity from the nation was not secure against the malice of political foes. While the great mass of the citizens undoubtedly revered Augustus as their champion and patron, the assertors of liberty were not utterly extinguished, and if armed resistance to his usurpation was acknowledged to be hopeless, there was still room and opportunity for private conspiracy. Licinius Murena and Fannius Cæpio, men of distinction in the commonwealth, were implicated in the charge of treason against the majesty of the state in the person of its cherished imperator.[1] The culprits were allowed perhaps to evade the vigilance of the officers of justice. They were condemned in their absence, the stepson of the emperor, Tiberius, putting himself forward as their accuser; and it is said that in the course of a short time they were privily made away with. The moderation which Augustus had affected seems to have revived the spirits of the republicans. When he condescended to appear in certain trials and give evidence at the prætor's tribunal, in the guise of a private citizen, subjecting himself with plausible humility to the

[1] Dion, liv. 3.

licentious abuse of some of the parties engaged, though flatterers were found to extol this specious patriotism, his enemies took occasion by it to bring him into contempt. Augustus may have found already that it was no easy task to reign as the first citizen of a republic. He panted for more unlimited sovereignty, and yet shrank from the suspicion of claiming it. He was not yet assured that his countrymen felt their need of him, and he aimed at bringing the necessity of monarchy to a decisive test. It was undoubtedly with this view that he now withdrew himself fom the centre of affairs, and left the city, nominally, at least, to the control of its legitimate magistrates, while he occupied himself with a tour of inspection in the eastern provinces. At the consular comitia for the year 733 the tribes, now first, for many years, left free to the exercise of their own discretion, elected Lollius to one seat, and offered the other of their own accord to Augustus. But when the wish of the citizens was signified to him, he declined to accede to it: a fresh election was announced, and the new candidates threw the city into confusion by their intrigues and violence. Some personages of the highest consideration now waited upon the emperor abroad, and besought him earnestly to return, and quell the disturbance with his nod. Again Augustus refused to interfere; he contented himself with rebuking the rival candidates and enjoining them to absent themselves from the city at the time of election. The commotions of the populace were not even thus allayed, and it was by violence rather than legitimate suffrage that an election was at last effected. Augustus watched his opportunity, and when he appointed Agrippa to govern the turbulent city in his absence, even the consuls, upon whose office the prefect must have

He retires from Rome, A. U. 732.

He is entreated to return to quiet dissensions, but steadily refuses,

glaringly encroached, were well pleased to lean upon the proffered aid. The elections for the next year now passed off without disturbance, Appuleius and Silius succeeding in due course to the vacant chairs. But at the next election the people insisted once more on creating only one consul, Sentius Saturninus, and keeping the other place open for Augustus himself. Again did their favourite baulk their desire, and the attempt to supply his place was attended with a repetition of popular commotions not without bloodshed. At this crisis Agrippa it seems was absent from the city; the reins of government had fallen to the ground: the senate was reduced to despair, and rushed in its consternation to the extremity of decreeing that the state was in danger, and arming the sole consul with arbitrary powers for its protection. Sentius was appalled at the perilous supremacy thrust upon him. The imperator, he apprehended, would never forgive the momentary encroachment on his own paramount authority. He induced the senate to retract the rash decree and send envoys to the real master of the state, and beseech him to step forward and save it. Augustus now felt that his time was come. He consented to interfere so far as to name a second consul, and quiet was once more restored. Blood had been shed, and this perhaps was the proof he required to convince all classes of the state that popular government was no longer compatible with the exercise of genuine freedom. He was now ready to return to the city, and the citizens were no less prepared to place themselves unreservedly in his power.[1] When he entered Rome in 735 new honours and privileges were tendered for his acceptance. These for the most part he declined. He allowed a

till blood is shed and popular government proved to be impracticable.

[1] Dion. liv. 10

temple to be consecrated to the Fortune of his return, and the auspicious day to be commemorated with a festival named the Augustalia. He accepted the powers of the censorship ostensibly for a term of five years; but he allowed them from thenceforward to be periodically renewed to him. But the great prize for which he had been so long intriguing was the consular power, which he now finally accepted for life. He thus cut the knot which entangled his position; for he dared not assume the perpetual consulship; he dared not associate a colleague in his own permanence; still less did he dare to abdicate the highest magistracy in the state, and exalt a citizen over his own head.

He accepts the "potestas consularis" for life.

As the tribunitian power assumed by the emperor transcended the legitimate tribunate, so did the consular power which was henceforth attached to his prerogative surpass the ordinary consulate both in authority and dignity. Its superior eminence was displayed even in its outward trappings. The senate decreed that Augustus should occupy a seat between the actual consuls in its assemblies, and assigned him the constant attendance of the twelve consular lictors, the same number which was wont to attend only alternate months upon the supreme magistrates of the republic. Whatever prerogatives the consuls possessed by virtue of their office were undoubtedly conferred upon him in this new capacity, and the imperator of the armies and proconsul of the provinces became supreme over the citizens in Rome itself. It was no longer possible for the senate, by declaring the state in danger, to arm a domestic magistrate with rival powers to the commander of the legions abroad. If the necessity should arise for introducing an armed force within the walls, Augustus might lay aside the toga and array himself in the military

Importance of this power.

garb. Possibly the emperors in the first instance condescended to obtain on such occasions the authority of a senatorial decree; but they soon dropped all delicacy on the subject, and when, towards the end of his life, Augustus himself declared the state in danger, no mention is made of any action of the senate regarding it.[1]

VI. The supreme pontificate.

VI. The foregoing enumeration, however, of the political functions which the emperor combined in his own person, and by which he effectually controlled the commonwealth throughout its civil and military organization, does not yet embrace the whole sphere of his action. It will be desirable therefore in this place to anticipate the few years which intervened between his attaining the perpetual power of the consulate and the death of Lepidus in 742, when he was invested, for life also, with the illustrious dignity of the supreme pontificate. In the hands indeed of such a mere political puppet as its last possessor, this dignity might seem to be merely an honorary distinction, and to confer no other privileges than those of rank and precedence. But it had been far otherwise in earlier times, when the noblest organs of the oligarchy or the staunchest champions of the commons wielded therewith the great political instrument of the state religion; it was far otherwise when the emperors grasped it as one of their most cherished prerogatives, and evinced their sense of its importance by the pertinacity with which they retained it. We have seen the use which Cæsar made of it, in sweeping away the cobwebs of antiquated prescription by which the nobles had kept in their own hands the regulation of the national calendar. It must never be forgotten that that salutary reform, the most lasting monument of the dictator's power,

[1] This was upon the disastrous defeat of Varus in Germany; Dion, lvi. 23. See Hoeck, *R. G.* i. I. 393.

had a political no less than a social aspect. Nor was his successor less sagacious, as we shall soon perceive, in deriving political advantage from this dignity, and making it his instrument for imposing upon his countrymen the spiritual yoke of a new element in their religion. The Pontifex Maximus or supreme pontiff was the chief of the pontifical college, consisting of fifteen members, and itself the chief of the four principal boards or associations of the ministers of the Roman religion. The epulones formed a college for the administration of the sacred festivals, to which much of the pomp and pageantry of the national worship attached: the quindecemvirs had the custody of the Sibylline books, mysterious volumes inscribed in occult language with the future fortunes of the state: the augurs exercised the science of divination according to prescribed formulas, the meaning and power of which they alone understood: but superior to all these in dignity and importance was the college of the priests or pontiffs, whose business it was to ordain ceremonies, to appoint sacrifices, to maintain the temples, to declare the usages of every ancient, and determine those of every new cult, to control in short the whole ritual of the state religion; all which they did under the sanction of a code of pontifical law, explained, expanded, and enforced by their own decisions.

The pontifices, epulones, quindecemvirs, and augurs.

The interests of the people might seem to demand that they should have a potential voice in the appointment of officers to whom functions so extensive and so delicate were to be committed. The power of election became, as might be expected, a subject of jealousy to the different orders of the citizens. From the curies it was transferred to the centuries or the tribes. At another time it was resigned to the members of the college itself; again it was

The people confer the supreme pontificate on Augustus, A. U. 742.

restored to the assembly of the people, and this arrangement was finally ratified by the legislation of Julius Cæsar. The appointment to the presidency of the college had followed nearly the same career. Antonius had recommended Lepidus to the people, and they had acceded to his suggestion with alacrity. A few years afterwards they had offered it to Octavius, and this offer seems indeed to have been more than once repeated, sometimes by popular acclamation, sometimes by the zeal of individuals who might pledge themselves to obtain for it the ratification of the comitia.[1] But the dignity of chief pontiff was perpetual, and Augustus constantly forbore to wrest it from the feeble old man to whom it had fallen. He shrank, as we have seen, from accepting any distinct state-office for life; and still more from seizing any such in defiance of legal prescription, however little he might apprehend the sympathy of the people for a rival whom they had allowed to drop into oblivion. Accordingly he waited with no signs of impatience for the death of the existing occupants; but when that event took place, and the growing consolidation of his power encouraged him to extend its foundation still wider, he no longer hesitated to accept the vacant dignity, and take the religion of the state under his immediate superintendence. This religious supremacy was indeed too important a prerogative to be confided by the emperor to any private citizen. The election of magistrates, the march of armies, the transaction of all public business, might lie at the mercy of one, who from that exalted place could control the divination of the augurs, and the responses of the quindecemvirs. But the union of the emperor

[1] Dion, xlix. 15. (A. U. 718); and again, liv. 15., where he says, πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ταύτης ἀξιουμενος οὐκ ἐδικαίωσε ζῶντος τοῦ Λεπίδου λαβεῖν αὐτήν.

and the pontiff reduced these discordant elements to harmony. Every act of policy received the seal of religious ceremonial. Meanwhile the people relinquished their suffrages to the emperor without an effort to retain them. The elections to the pontifical college ceased to be anything but a mere form. The emperor's appointment was direct and conclusive, while the number of the members was extended indefinitely to augment the circle of his favours. The choice of the Vestal virgins was also thrown into his patronage. Augustus could determine the authority of the manifold vaticinations, passed from mouth to mouth, which perplexed and terrified the people. He pretended to institute a strict enquiry into their validity, and amassed, it is said, not fewer than two thousand volumes, Greek as well as Latin, which he adjudged to be burnt as spurious and pernicious. The Sibylline books, which he retained and sanctioned, received fresh credit from the results of this investigation: but they too were purged, it was said, from some apocryphal interpolations, and a select canon of unimpeached integrity was deposited in two golden caskets within the pedestal of the statue of the Palatine Apollo.[1]

Augustus exercises this office for the suppression of unauthorised vaticination.

The care and vigilance of Augustus in his sacerdotal capacity were exerted in various matters. He hastened to correct an error which had already

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 31.: "Quicquid fatidicorum librorum Græci Latinique generis nullis vel parum idoneis auctoribus vulgo ferebatur, supra duo millia contracta undique cremavit; ac solos retinuit Sibyllinos; hos quoque dilectu habito; condiditque duobus forulis auratis sub Palatini Apollinis basi." Tacitus refers to the same circumstance, *Ann.* vi. 12. Similar examinations had been made on various occasions under the republic, and again by Tiberius, A.U. 772. Dion, lvii. 18. Treasures were deposited for greater security within the base or pedestal of the divine images. Comp. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 5 "in Capitolini Jovis solio."

The name of the month Sextilis changed to Augustus.

vitiated the computation of the year, the pontiffs under the guidance of their inefficient chief having intercalated in every third year, since the reformation of the calendar, instead of every fourth. At the period when Augustus proposed to rectify this blunder, in the year 746, there had been twelve days intercalated, whereas there should have been nine only. The remedy was to allow fifteen years to pass without intercalation; but from the year 761 the process continued to be correctly observed, till, as has been shown in a former chapter, it was found necessary many centuries afterwards to repair the accumulations of the trifling error which still existed.[1] The name of the month Quintilis had been changed to Julius in honour of the chief pontiff, who had accomplished the reformation of the calendar in the year 708, and the month itself had been chosen as that of the reformer's birth. The precedent was seized to invent a fresh distinction for the new reformer, and Sextilis was duly changed to Augustus. The emperor indeed had been born in September; but the glories of the month which precedes it in the calendar had eclipsed the estimation even of that auspicious epoch. The decree of the senate by which the transfer was sanctioned declared that the month henceforth to be styled Augustus was the most fortunate to the empire of all the twelve; for in that, Octavius had commenced his first consulship; in that,

[1] Suet. *Oct.* 31.; Plin. *H. N.* xviii. 57.; Macrob. *Saturn*, i. 14. The peculiar mode of computing time used by the Romans led to this confusion. Observe the last-mentioned writer's expressions: "Nam quum oporteret diem qui ex quadrantibus confit *quarto* quoque anno *confecto* antequam quintus *inciperet*, intercalare, illi quarto *non peracto sed incipiente* intercalabant . . . . post hoc unum diem quinto quoque incipiente anno intercalari jussit." The bissextile years had been 712, 715, 718, 721, 724, 727, 730, 733, 736, 739, 742, 745. The correction took place doubtless in the following year. From 745 there was no further intercalation till 761. Ideler, *Chronol.* ii. 132.

the legions on the Janiculum had devoted themselves to his service; in that, his three triumphs had been celebrated; in that, finally, Egypt had submitted to the dominion of Rome, and civil discord had reached its term. The citizens, it is recorded, ratified the decree with a plebiscitum, on the motion of a tribune of the people.[1]

Acts of Augustus's pontificate.

The biographer of Augustus has enumerated the principal acts of religion which the second Cæsar reformed; but some of them at least were the pious deeds of a period anterior to his pontificate. The erection or repair of temples was a work of munificence from which no private citizen was excluded, and this the first of the citizens had effected himself on an extensive scale, besides instigating others to emulate him in the same career. There may have been some irregularity however in the ritual restorations which he enacted, unless we are to suppose that the pontiff Lepidus was made the organ of his patron's policy. The customary supplication for the safety of the state was renewed after long disuse in the year 725; the flamen of Jupiter was reappointed, and the Lupercalia and other festivals revived probably about the same time; and lastly the year 737 was rendered famous by the celebration of the secular games, a grand service of prayer and praise to the gods for the general weal. On this occasion it is recorded that the quindecemvirs announced, upon inspection of the Sibylline books, that the secular festival ought to be held. The nature and purport of this traditional solemnity were but faintly indicated; Augustus appointed the most experienced jurist and antiquary of the time, Ateius Capito, to examine and report upon them; and at his sugges-

[1] Suet. *l. c.*; Dion, lv. 6.; Macrob. *Saturn.* i. 12.

tion the various ceremonies were ordained and duly executed, the most interesting of which, at least in our eyes, must have been the choral performance of the hymn which Horace the court poet composed at his patron's desire.[1] After these and other honours paid to the national gods, Augustus proceeded to exhibit next to them his veneration for the national heroes. He repaired the edifices which had been constructed in past times by the great statesmen and warriors of the republic, and allowed the names of the founders to continue to adorn them, instead of replacing them, as custom would have permitted, by that of the restorer. It was no point of his ambition to display himself as the author of a new order of things, and throw the past into the shade; on the contrary, both his temper and his policy led him to juster views, and induced him to cherish every link of the chain which connected him with the consuls and imperators of the ancient commonwealth. He thronged the corridors of the Augustan forum, which he erected by the side of the Julian, with the statues of the most famous captains of Roman story, arrayed in the triumphal ornaments which they had won and worn successively. An imperial edict declared that he placed them thus conspicuously in the eyes of the citizens, in order that his countrymen might estimate by their model both his own actions and those of future princes.[2]

VII. Legislative and judicial functions.

VII. The position of the emperor, as regarded the legislative and judicial functions pertaining to his several capacities, requires to be examined separately.

The making of the laws was the great prerogative of the Roman people, which they had never surren-

[1] The ludi seculares were performed A.U. 737. It was doubtless in his pontifical character that Augustus forbade the Romans to use the Druidical worship. Suet. *Claud.* 25.

[2] Suet. *Oct.* 31.

dered to any magistrate. When the assemblies of the curies fell into disuse, or were maintained only for the sake of certain technical formalities, it was in the comitia of the centuries alone that laws properly so called (*leges*) could be passed, on the motion of a senatorial magistrate for the ratification of the project of law already approved by the senate. But the plebiscita, which from an early period of the republic had the force of law, and were binding upon all classes of citizens, were proposed by the tribunes and enacted by the comitia of the tribes. This power of making laws is necessarily the attribute of sovereignty: wherever it is really admitted to reside, there the power of the state must actually centre. Augustus professed to wield a delegated authority. He made no attempt therefore to suspend the legislative functions either of the senate or the people: he merely studied to guide and control them; but in so doing he showed the way to his successors gradually to supersede them. Accordingly both the senate and the people continued to meet for the purpose of legislation. Every ordinance which the emperor wished to receive the force of law was made to pass at his instance through the regular stages, according to the forms of the old constitution. His care now was to prevent others from proposing laws, independent of his counsel and suggestion: he wished the initiative to be actually or virtually confined to his own hands. Under the commonwealth both the consuls, as we have seen, and the tribunes had possessed this prerogative of initiation. Augustus had certain reasons for declining to be either consul or tribune; but he retained the substance of either office by the anomalous potestas which he had caused to be conferred upon him. In this consular capacity he accepted a specific permission to propose a single measure at any sitting of the senate. It does not appear why he thus restricted

He assumes the prerogative of initiation.

himself; nor again why his successors relaxed this limitation and allowed themselves at last to propose as many as five enactments on the same day. It would seem that the licence assumed by Augustus was extensive enough for any practical purpose; and it may be doubted whether he used his tribunitian power for introducing plebiscita at all. At the same time the actual consuls and tribunes, whom he over-shadowed from his superior eminence, were doubtless too well drilled in compliance to exercise their initiatory functions except at his special instance. Thus, without abrogating the functions either of the senate or the people, which continued to exist and were occasionally referred to for at least two centuries, the emperor became in fact the sole fountain of the national legislation, and it was rarely, if ever, that any obstruction was thrown in the way of his enactments by the independent exercise of their suffrages.

The emperor's edicts.

But occasions might still arise when Augustus might not choose to propose a law directly, and yet might wish a certain colour or interpretation to be given to existing statutes. Here also the strict forms of the constitution substantially befriended him. The magistrates who possessed judicial functions, or in the Roman phrase, jurisdiction,—such as the consuls originally, the prætors, and in certain cases the tribunes also, in the city, the proconsuls and proprætors in the provinces,—were enjoined to publish their edict or proclamation, in which they declared beforehand the principles on which their decisions would be guided in cases for which the strict letter of the law offered no solution. In his consular or tribunitian capacity Augustus might claim to sit upon the bench of justice. He too might take occasion to announce his views of law by edict; with this advantage, that whereas the jurisdiction of other magistrates was

local, his was unlimited; while theirs was specific, his was general; while theirs was temporary, his was lifelong. The force of their edicts was circumscribed, while his were unlimited in duration, and even survived his own decease if the senate consented to confirm the acts of the departed emperor. The decisions of the emperor therefore could not fail to accumulate more and more authority. The exact bounds of their validity would not be too closely scanned. He would be emboldened in course of time to declare not only what was the law, but what should be the law, and still the people, if they discovered the encroachment, would in fear and adulation only the more applaud it. But Augustus, and even his successors, were for the most part extremely temperate in pressing this grave prerogative. They continued to seek the sanction of the senate, after they had ceased to refer to the people for every important decision to which they wished permanent authority to attach. Meanwhile, the magistrates, the provincial governors, states and corporations, and lastly private citizens, besieged the doors of the palace with questions for the emperor's solution. Every day new cases arose in the administrative system of the empire, which called for his authoritative decision. The rescript or reply which issued from his council chamber was gladly accepted by a perplexed executive, and registered for future reference in the public archives. In process of time the edicts, the rescripts, and the official letters of the emperor were collected, compared, and methodized, and a vast mass of imperial legislation received the sanction of customary use under the name of the prince's constitutions.[1]

Rescripts and constitutions.

[1] Gaius, i. 5.: "Constitutio Principis est quod Imperator decreto vel edicto vel epistola constituit; nec unquam dubitatum est quin id legis vicem obtineat, cum ipse imperator per legem imperium accipiat." The reason here assigned is of course illegitimate; but in the time of

Misconception of the phrase "legibus solutus."

But Augustus at least did not live to witness these distant results. If he was not, in any strict sense, the maker of the laws, still less was he exempted from the obligation to obey them. The misconception which long existed on this point among the learned has been cleared away by a subtler criticism, sharpened in the struggle for constitutional freedom, and is chiefly interesting now as an obsolete memorial of those pretended rights of despotism against which the philosophical jurists of modern Europe have successfully contended. But it is not long since the autocracy of the Austrian Cæsars was defended by an appeal to the *lex regia* of the Roman empire, and it was contended that even from the time of Augustus the people had formally released their sovereign from every law and ordinance of the state. It is true that the Roman jurists, at least from the third century of the empire, were prone to magnify the imperial prerogatives, and sought to place them upon the basis of such a popular donation. Justinian himself asserts boldly that whatever the prince wills has the force of law, because the people has surrendered to him all its own sovereignty and power,[1] and that by the special enactment denominated the Royal Law, through which he received the imperium. The emperor Alexander Severus had preceded the great legislator in declaring that the law of the imperium has released the sovereign from the forms of law.[2] Ulpian had said, still more concisely, *The prince is released from the laws*[3]; and this same phrase is

Gaius (*circa* A.D. 150), the theory of the constitution was forgotten or overlooked even by the jurists themselves.

[1] Justinian, *Inst.* i. tit. 3. 6.: "Quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem, cum lege regia quæ de ejus imperio lata est, populus ei et in eum omne suum imperium et potestatem concessit."

[2] In pr. D. de Const. Princ.: "Licet enim lex imperii solennibus Juris imperatorem solverit, nihil tamen tam proprium Imperii est, quàm legibus vivere."

[3] D. i. tit. 3. 31.: "Princeps legibus solutus est."

used by the histórian Dion[1], a courtier and a minister, to express the entire independence of all legal restrictions which the emperor enjoyed. Doubtless these authorities reflect the actual sentiments of their own days; it is not less certain however that the language they used, the old technical language of Roman law, bore in fact no such meaning as the phrase seems in strictness to convey. It is seldom perhaps that a mere verbal ambiguity or incorrectness has led to so grave a misapprehension as in the instance before us. There is no doubt that in the best ages of the commonwealth the legal term, *to be released from the laws*, meant simply a specific exemption from some particular law or constitutional principle. If a candidate for public honours was permitted by special enactment to sue for a magistracy before the legal age, he was said to be *released from the laws*[2]; if an imperator obtained leave to enter the city before the day appointed for his triumph, the same phrase was applied to him[3]: so when a citizen was allowed to be buried within the walls, or a prætor to absent himself more than ten days from the city.[4] The same phrase was applied to Julius Cæsar, the same to Augustus, when they demanded exemption from special restrictions; and the fact that it was applied to the latter on more than one occasion in the course of his principate shows that, at least in his time, the Romans were

[1] Dion, liii. 13.: *λέλυνται γὰρ δὴ τῶν νόμον ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ Λατινικὰ ῥήματα λέγει· τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἐλεύθεροι ἀπὸ πάσης ἀναγκαίας νομίσεως εἰσι*, and comp. c. 28.

[2] As in the case of Pompeius. Cic. *pro Leg. Manil.* 21.

[3] Suet. *Jul.* 18.

[4] Cicero, *de Legg.* ii. 23., *Philipp.* ii. 13. In all these cases the phrase is clearly adopted from much earlier usage. The word "leges" by itself has often the general scope of our phrase "the constitution." So, for instance, in the phrase "inter arma silent leges." With us the suspension of a single principle of law may sometimes be called the suspension of the constitution.

fully sensible of its technical limitation. But these occasional exemptions were easily converted into precedents. When the senate confirmed the acts of a deceased emperor his successors might claim to step at once into all his immunities. The imperium was still formally conferred by a senatorial decree, representing the law of the curies, an example of which has been preserved to us in the case of Vespasian.[1] This document, a portion of which still exists, declares that the new emperor shall enjoy every exemption as well as every function bestowed upon his predecessors, and such doubtless was the prescribed formula employed at each accession. We shall find however that this sweeping donation did not supersede the action of the senate, which continued to a late period to dispense the various prerogatives of sovereignty, one by one, with affected hesitation. It was not till the accession of Alexander Severus, and that only for special reasons, that it conferred all together, immediately after the imperium, *the name of Augustus, and father of his country, the proconsular and tribunitian powers, and the right of initiative in the senate.*[2]

[1] Gruter, p. 242.; Gibbon, *Decl. and Fall*, ch. lxx.; Niebuhr, *Hist. Rom.* i. 337., is confident of its genuineness. It has been repeatedly published by writers on Roman law, and editors of Tacitus and Suetonius. The passage which bears upon the question before us runs:—"Utique quibus legibus plebeive scitis scriptum fuit ne Divus Aug. Tiberiusve Julius Cæsar Aug. Tiberiusque Claudius Cæsar Aug. Germanicus tenerentur, iis legibus plebisque scitis Imp. Cæsar Vespasianus solutus sit: quæque ex quâque lege rogatione Divum Aug. Tiberiumve Jul. Cæsarem, Tiberiumque Claudium Cæsarem Aug. Germanicum facere oportuit, ea omnia Imp. Cæsari Vespasiano Aug. facere liceat." The emperors omitted are evidently those whose acts the senate had refused to ratify.

[2] Lampridius, *Alex. Sev.* 1, 8. The emperor himself remarks upon it as a novelty: "Quæ omnia novo exemplo uno die in me contulistis." After this time it became common to confer all these functions together, but still not till the imperium had been first bestowed. Comp. Capitol. *Max. et Balb.* 8.; Vopisc. *Prob.* 11, 12.

It may be difficult to reconcile this usage with the literal sense of the document just referred to: nevertheless, in questions of this sort the clear records of history must prevail over the bare letter of the law, which, as we have just seen, may sometimes deflect widely in practice from its grammatical purport. The decree however which has been cited was, we may suppose, an example of the *lex regia* to which the imperial jurists refer as the foundation of the sovereign power. This law derived its name from the period of kingly rule, when the chief of the Roman state received his investiture from the assembly of his nobles. In spite of the jealousy with which the regal title was regarded, the name continued perhaps to be attached to every *lex curiata de imperio* throughout the period of the commonwealth, and thus survived to witness the revival of the monarchy, and to serve as an instrument for its consolidation. Yet even under the grinding tyranny of the most despotic of the emperors, the Romans might still console themselves with reflecting that no *king* reigned in Rome. The imperial medals struck in the metropolitan mint abstained from this hateful title.[1] It was only in the provinces, and under the decent veil of a foreign language, that the idea could be suggested to the public mind by the term *basileus* inscribed on the coins which passed from hand to hand. The Greek writers indeed in the second and third centuries ascribe the royal title to the emperor without reserve; but in Latin it is only to be found, I believe, thus applied among the solecisms of the African Tertullian and in the metaphors of a poetaster such as Claudian.[2]

The "lex regia."

[1] Spanheim. *de Usu Numism.* p. 686.; Eckhel, *Doctr. Numm.* viii. 366.

[2] Tertull. *de Virgin. Vel.* 17.: "Ut ait Romana quædam regina." Claudian, *Epith. Hon.* 253.:

"Magnorum soboles regum parituraque reges."

It is the more remarkable that the emperors should have refrained so carefully from appropriating it, since the very mansion which the chief pontiff inhabited was technically denominated the *regia*.[1] But the wreath of the emperor, the symbol of the widest and noblest sovereignty the world has ever known, the ensign of a Julius, an Augustus, and a Trajan, finally gathered round it a glory of its own, and eclipsed with its halo of brilliant associations the pallid lustre of Oriental diadems.[2]

The name of "Cæsar."

But this consummation falls only just within the limits of the long period before us. It was impossible indeed that the sovereign who wielded the powers of so many distinct offices should not soon acquire, at least in popular language, some peculiar designation expressive of this aggregate supremacy. It mattered not that the designation bore no such literal meaning; or rather it suited the imperial policy, and accorded not less with popular prejudice, that its actual signification should be wide of the idea it was really intended to convey. Octavius was the adopted heir of Julius Cæsar: from the moment of his adoption the surname of Cæsar became appropriated to him, and it was by this name accordingly that he was most familiarly known to his own contemporaries. Modern writers for the sake of distinction have agreed for the most part to confine this illustrious title to the first of the

[1] The same name was applied to a state pavilion in the theatre, and to any public hall or curia of peculiar magnificence; as by Statius, *Sylv.* I. i. 30.: "Belligeri sublimis regia Pauli." Hence, I conceive, rather than from any supposed convertibility of the terms imperator and βασιλεύς, the imperial halls of justice were denominated βασιλικαί. Another derivation of the Basilica is from the στόα βασιλικὴ at Athens in which the Archon Basileus presided. But this seems extremely far-fetched both in geography and chronology.

[2] It may be worth while to observe that the linen fillet is a sacrificial, the wreath of laurel, or rather bay, a military ensign; the golden band surmounted with spikes or rays, the parent of our modern crowns and coronets, is a token of divinity.

Cæsarean dynasty; but we should doubtless gain a clearer conception of the gradual process by which the idea of a dynastic succession fixed itself in the minds of the Romans, if we followed their own practice in this particular, and applied the name of Cæsar not to Augustus only, but also to his adopted son Tiberius, to the scions of the same lineage who succeeded him, and even to those of later and independent dynasties.[1] As late indeed as the reign of Diocletian, the Roman monarch was still eminently the Cæsar. It was not till the close of the third century of our era that that illustrious title was deposed from its preeminence, and restricted to a secondary and deputed authority. Its older use was however revived and perpetuated, though less exclusively, through the declining ages of the empire, and has survived with perhaps unbroken continuity even to our own days. The Austrian Kaiser still retains the name, though he has renounced the succession of the Cæsars of Rome, while the Czar of Muscovy pretends to derive his national designation by direct inheritance from the Cæsars of Byzantium.

[1] Dion (lii. 40.) gives it as the advice of Mæcenas, *ὡς εἴγε τὸ μὲν πρᾶγμα τὸ τῆς μοναρχίας αἱρῇ, τὸ δ' ὄνομα τῆς βασιλείας ὡς καὶ ἐπάρατον φοβηθῇς, τοῦτο μὲν μὴ προσλάβῃς, τῇ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος προσηγορίᾳ χρώμενος αὐτάρχει.* The popular notion that Czar and Cæsar are in fact the same word is now denied by the learned; but it is still, I believe, encouraged by the Russian government and commonly accepted by the nation.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

LONDON
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NEW-STREET SQUARE